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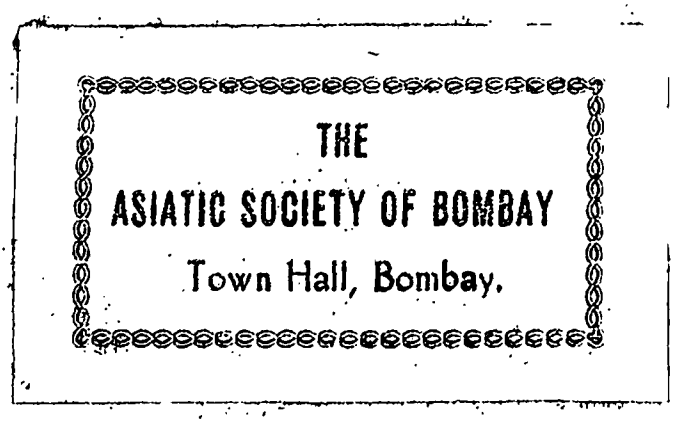

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HISTORY OF ITALY

DURING THE CONSULATE AND EMPIRE

OF

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE,

TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN OF

1598

CARLO BOTTA,

BY THE AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE OF JOANNA, QUEEN OF NAPLES."

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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VOL. II.

"The History of Italy, from 1794 to 1814, is one of the finest subjects of modern times; the ideal is there combined with the positive."—
Stendhal's Sketches of Italy.

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FREDERICK of Prussia began to experience the effects of Napoleon's gratitude. The defeat

of Austria had resulted from his imprudent neutrality; and Napoleon, rising still higher on the ruins of Austria, now aimed at the destruction of Prussia. By treachery, violence, and corruption, he had degraded her in the eyes of the world, and then strove by open insults to rouse her to resentment, confident that she could not successfully struggle against him. He had invaded Hanover, and had persuaded Prussia to accept the territory, a gift fatal to her reputation, fatal in its consequences. He had offended Germany in the case of the Duke d'Enghien: yet Prussia displayed no resentment. Frederick bore patiently the Italian coronation, the annexation of Genoa, the affair of Lucca, the non-fulfilment of the promises made to the King of Sardinia: patiently too did he endure the incarceration of the English envoys in the German territory; the taxes imposed on the Hanseatic cities; the violation of the neutrality of Anspach and Bareuth. The confederation of the Rhine made Napoleon master of one half of Germany. Frederick, on his part, had consented to a confederation of the north of Germany in his own favour; but

Napoleon secretly used his influence with the German princes to prevent it; and, no longer observing any moderation, he took Fulda from the Prince of Orange, who was nearly connected by the ties of relationship with the King of Prussia, and deprived the King himself of the fortress of Wesel, and of the abbacies of Essen, Werden, and Elten. He promised Swedish Pomerania to Prussia, and at the same time bound himself by solemn treaty with Russia to prevent her taking possession of that province; Hanover, which he had offered to Prussia, and which she had subsequently already accepted, he offered to restore to the King of England as the price of peace; finally, he marched an additional force into Germany. Knowing the friend he had to deal with, Frederick flew to arms: Napoleon's sword was also drawn, and he was entitled to use it in his defence, since the King came armed against him; but the criminations that were, at his instigation, published against the Queen, were such as could not but excite disgust and indignation in the mind of every man not entirely divested of all sense of decorum.

I myself saw at this time pictures exhibited in places of public resort, that made me rather think I was wandering about some uncivilized and barbarous city, than walking in the confines of the polished Paris. Louisa was a woman, a queen, and was devoted to her country, and she excited to arms those who were inspired with similar feelings of patriotism. For this she became the object of the insults of a barbarian. These heavy censures of Napoleon will be approved by those who, with such pious and patriotic affection, have erected altars to the Maid of Domremy;*—of those who raise the laugh of scorn against the defenders of their country it were vain to think.

The fortunes of Napoleon prevailed. Prussia was overthrown at Jena, at Magdeburg, at Prenzlow. Berlin, the capital, and all the fortresses, in consequence of the extreme terror and disorder that prevailed, fell into the power of the victor. Such was the result of the spirited movement of Frederick, who had been as much stimulated to it by Alexander of Russia as by his own inclination. Alexander arrived with his

* Joan of Arc, who was born at Domremy la Pucelle.

army in aid of his vanquished friend; but Napoleon surpassed him in daring, in power, and in skill. The battle of Eylau was fiercely contested, and of uncertain issue. The season becoming severe, the French retreated to this side of the Vistula, the Russians to the further banks of the Pregel. When the weather became mild, at the approach of the new year, both armies advanced to meet each other. The combats which ensued were various in their issue, but all equally sanguinary: at last, both parties were arrayed against each other in full force in the plains of Friedland. Here fell the Russian fortunes. The victorious Napoleon menaced the frontiers of Alexander's dominions; Alexander demanded peace. It is reported, that, in their secret conferences, the two Emperors divided the world between them. Napoleon's empire was to be bounded on one side by a line drawn from the mouth of the Vistula, to the island of Corfu, and on the other by the waves of the Baltic, the ocean, the Mediterranean, and the Adriatic; the rest was to be the portion of Alexander. Whether this be true or not, an avowed treaty

was concluded on the banks of the Niemen. Alexander acknowleged Joseph Napoleon as King of Naples, and Louis Napoleon as King of Holland. He consented to the creation of the kingdom of Westphalia to be bestowed on Jerome, the younger brother of the Emperor; he consented to the creation of the Duchy of Warsaw, of which Frederick Augustus of Saxony was to be sovereign; and he acknowleged the confederacy of the Rhine; while a secret article stipulated that the mouths of the Cattaro should be evacuated by the Russians, and given up to Napoleon; and, finally, Alexander promised to put Napoleon in possession of the seven Ionian Islands—a monstrous stipulation, as their independence had been guaranteed by Russia and the Ottoman Porte conjointly; and one of the parties, therefore, could not in justice consent to undo what had been the joint labour of both.

The achievements of Napoleon in war surpassed in grandeur all that the histories or traditions of men have transmitted to posterity. To have borne down Austria so speedily; a little while after to have overthrown Prussia as suddenly;

and then to have met and beaten the hosts of Russia after so long a contest, seemed to be almost fabulous exploits, rather than real events. Struck with wonder, men revolved in their minds the power and valour of Austria, the still recent glory of Frederick of Prussia, the wonderful deeds of Suwarrow, and the opinion entertained of Russian invincibility; and they could not conceive how one nation alone, and a single leader, could have vanquished, almost ere seen, soldiers so brave, and commanders so renowned. The world praised and adored Napoleon—princes first, and among them some of the greatest; their subjects afterwards. There was no longer scope for adulation; the most unmeasured panegyrics fell short of the truth; nor could the most famous poets, though straining every nerve in the effort, arrive at an elevation of such sublimity. Poets called him Jove; priests, the arm of God; princes, brother and lord.

There remained but one means of increasing the glory he had acquired, and this was to support it with moderation. Had he restrained the adulation of a servile age, that rushed on to wel-

come slavery, he would have merited so well of the human race, that what had been flattery would have become no more than just praise: but he preferred to the culture of generous sentiments, either in himself or others, the scornful delight of proving to what length the meanness of man could proceed. Passing by, however, the adulation he received from the French, the Austrians, the Prussians, and the Russians, I will here speak only of Italian sycophancy. The deputies of the Italian kingdom had been summoned to Paris for the sole purpose of offering the mean homage of flattery. Gamboni, the Patriarch of Venice, obtained an audience at the Imperial residence of St. Cloud, and then addressed the monarch in a strain of the most fawning servility. "The Italians, he said, had come to lay at his feet the tribute of their admiration, of their good wishes, of their love, and of their fidelity. They rejoiced in being the first to fulfil this duty towards their heroic, their powerful, and their most beloved Prince. None could love him more than Italians; none could venerate him with equal gratitude. He had redeemed

France, but he had created Italy. The Italians had invoked the protection of Heaven for his safety in his recent perils; they now offered up devout thanks for victory, and for peace. His submissive and affectionate Italian people entreated the Emperor graciously to grant their humble supplication; they implored him to visit that Italy which he had raised so high from the deepest abasement, which he had recovered from such a state of abjectness, to conduct her to such a happy destiny. This they desired; this they earnestly implored; this they hoped from his paternal benevolence; this would be the most perfect, the most exalted felicity they could enjoy." Napoleon replied, "that the affection of his Italian people was grateful to his heart. He had with pleasure seen their valour shine conspicuous on the great theatre of the world. So propitious a commencement would, he hoped, have a corresponding conclusion." In this same place he, who had vilified with taunts a woman of exalted worth, solely because she had loved and defended her country against him, proceeded to say, that the Italian ladies should send from

their presence the youths who spent their days in listless indolence, and should forbid them to appear again before them till marked with honourable scars; adding "that he would willingly visit Venice, well knowing the love the Venetians bore him." Napoleon's speech, on this occasion, excited great admiration in the court, and every one pronounced it beautiful. That part, especially, where he touched on the love the Venetians bore him, was much commended.

Caressed by the monks of Mount Cenis; welcomed with fêtes by the Turinese, then recently freed from Menou, whom the good Prince, Camillo Borghese, succeeded as Governor-general, Napoleon arrived in triumph at the royal and pleasant Milan. A succession of fêtes now commenced; the soldiers held tournaments, the poets sang, the magistrates flattered, the priests bestowed their benedictions. He treated Melzi with great respect, because he had no longer occasion for him; and that he might be the more completely shrouded, he created him Duke of Lodi. In the course of this history I have grieved for many fatal events, and

for many more must I yet lament; but for none have I mourned, or have I still to mourn over with more sorrow, than to have seen a Melzi contaminated by becoming a satrap of Napoleon.

Napoleon arrived at Venice, and beheld the whole city illuminated; the great canal as light as day—the place of St. Mark more brilliant still. There were regattas, balls, operas, and, what was even worse, there were plaudits of voices and hands. Every thing wore a cheerful and serene aspect; notwithstanding which, he himself dreaded assassination; and Duroc, the grand master of the palace, was more than usually diligent in visiting cellars and cisterns. Some Venetians fluttered round their lord with joyful faces—for the age preferred a base but splendid servitude to honourable obscurity.

The Emperor turned once more to Milan. He received the colleges, and replied to their harangues; he censured the progenitors of the present generation, and lamented that Italy had degenerated from the glories of ancient times; he affirmed that he had done much for the Italians, and would do much more; he admonished them to

remain steady in their union with France, and reminded them that the iron crown promised them independence. He passed triumphantly through Lombardy. New designs as to Italy arose in his mind, and he prepared for their execution: under his dominion one work of destruction generated another. Because the Prince Regent of Portugal had refused to do all he wished against the English, he had entered into a treaty with the minister of Spain at Fontainebleau, to wrest Portugal from its ancient masters (still present on its soil), and make it over to others. By this treaty France and Spain agreed that the province of Portugal Proper, between the Minho and the Douro, with the city of Oporto, should be ceded to the King of Etruria, who should assume the title of King of Northern Lusitania; that the Algarves should be given to the Prince of Peace, with the title of Prince of Algarve; and that Beira, Tras os Montes, and Portuguese Estremadura, should be held in sequestration till a general peace. The King of Etruria was to yield his realm to

the Emperor Napoleon, whose troops were to enter Spain, and, in conjunction with the Spanish forces, were to occupy Portugal. A double fraud against Portugal and Spain lurked under the introduction of these troops. The family of Braganza had notice of the plot, and without awaiting the tempest that threatened them, employed their own and the British fleet to convey them to Brazil. Napoleon raised a great uproar on account of their transmigration, and imputed to them, as a crime, their fleeing, as he said, with the English; as if they had been bound by any obligation to remain in vassalage to him.

On the 22d of November, the ministers of France and Spain entering the apartments of Maria Louisa, Queen Regent of Tuscany, intimated to her that the Tuscan kingdom was at an end, and that the territory had been ceded to the Emperor Napoleon; but that, in compensation, other states had been assigned for her and her son Charles Louis to enjoy. On this occasion the words "*in perpetuity*" were omitted; yet whether this omission proceeded from sincerity or forgetfulness it is

difficult to determine. The fantastical command was obeyed with humility as extraordinary. The Queen signified to her people that Tuscany had been ceded to the Emperor Napoleon, and that she was about to repair to another realm. "She should remember their devotion with delight, and should grieve at their separation, but would console herself with the reflection, that a people so docile was placed under the happy sway of a monarch endowed with all the heroic virtues, amongst which (to use the very words of the Queen, which were in style, as they were in fact, the expressions of a mere secretary) pre-eminently figured an earnest and constant desire to promote and to secure the prosperity of the nations subject to him." The Queen had not followed the footsteps of Leopold in Tuscany, but had governed in a more arbitrary manner, and more according to the wishes of the court of Rome. General O'Reilly arrived to take possession in the name of the Emperor and King. The magistrates took the oaths of allegiance, and the arms of Tuscany were broken, and those of Napoleon erected in their place. Menou, the Egyptian, arrived to disturb the Tus-

can people. The triumphant Napoleon returned to Paris, his carriages closely followed by those of Maria Louisa and her son.

The harshness of Napoleon, and the rude and impetuous disposition of Menou, were mitigated in Tuscany by a Junta created by the new Sovereign, and composed of just and good men, amongst whom was Degerando, who, ever accustomed to hope, to imagine, and to wish what was right, believed that the Emperor resembled himself. To them was assigned the difficult task of modelling the Tuscan ordinances to those of France. In this matter some things were difficult to accomplish, whilst others were easily effected; amongst the first may be ranked the judicial, administrative, and military laws. These were introduced into the new province without modification. The Tuscans could not be reconciled to the military regulations, thinking it a monstrous thing that they should be obliged to serve in wars at the most distant extremities of Europe for the interests of France, or rather of her ruler. The Junta laboured not without effect to render the new domination less obnoxious.

First, as to the tax on capital, in consequence of Degerando's acting with great moderation, it did not amount to more than a fifth or to less than a sixth of the interest. The Junta did not neglect commercial affairs: the climate being propitious they encouraged the cultivation of cotton; and to improve the woollen manufacture they introduced fine-woolled sheep into the mountainous districts near Sienna. They formed establishments to improve the manufacture of caps at Prato, the straw-hats, alabasters, and corals of Leghorn and Florence, the chief articles of Tuscan commerce; and liberally granted honours and rewards to the artificers. They demanded from Napoleon licence to export silk from Leghorn,—a most advantageous privilege, and indispensable to maintain the silk manufacture and the cultivation of the mulberry tree in full vigour. They also demanded from the sovereign a chamber of commerce for Leghorn, similar to that at Marseilles, that the merchants of Leghorn might regulate their own trade independently of the Marsellois. This was not only an useful but a disinterested request on the part of the French Junta, as it made against the

interest of Marseilles. These regulations tended to preserve the commerce of Leghorn with the Levant. Neither did the Junta confine their cares to maritime affairs alone, for they petitioned the Emperor to open a road from Arezzo to Rimini, the shortest of all that lead from the Mediterranean to the Adriatic; to restore that between Rome and Florence by the Appian Way; to construct one from Florence to Bologna by the Bisenzio and the Reno; and to finish that which ran by the ancient Via Lauretana, from Sienna to Cortona, Arezzo, and Perugia. Neither were the politer studies neglected; thanks to the solicitude of the learned and excellent Degerando. The universities of Pisa, Florence, and all their dependencies, received every due favour and attention, as did likewise the academies of experimental knowledge, of philology,* of drawing, and of agriculture. Degerando cultivated a fertile soil which gratefully repaid his labours, and these benefits compensated for the oppressive sway of a stern master.

It was now January—the office of the Junta ceased; and the Princess Eliza was named Grand

* The Della Crusca.

Duchess, the government of Tuscany being consigned to her. Either from her natural disposition or for amusement, (resembling her brother rather than one of her own sex) Eliza took most pleasure in military affairs, while she was wholly indifferent as to learning, or to the fame of Tuscany. In this manner ended the Tuscan state, which, from being originally a republic, had passed by usurpation to the Medici family, and had afterwards been wrested from the Medicis by the Austrians,—the right of the most powerful, who were well pleased to seize on it as their prey, till it was finally absorbed and lost in the immensity of France.

In a similar manner and at the same time, Napoleon united to the empire the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza, calling it the department of the Taro. To the Bourbons of Parma there was left the hope of the sovereignty of the Minho and Douro.

I know not whether those who have so far followed this narrative have sufficiently impressed their minds with the miseries of Italy.* Twice was Piedmont a republic, twice a kingdom, three

* From the commencement of the French Revolution in 1789.

times under provisional governments—was trampled down by the republican agents under the King, and under the first provisional government;—had been torn to pieces by the Imperial Russian and Austrian agents under the second; and oppressed by the consular agents under the third; and under each there had been perpetual uncertainty, a continual war of opinions, the affections agonized, the interest of all ruined, now by one, now by another party. When a sanative balm began to heal one wound, fresh violence inflicted another. The voice of plaining sorrow was again and again heard. A flourishing country was reduced to squalid poverty. They had hoped for liberty—they found disorganized and unbridled despotism; and this, after lasting many years, was finally changed only for a regular despotism. Security seemed now obtained: yet still some vestiges of past evils remained in the minds of men; and unrepaired ruins attested the violence and frequency of the changes they had gone through. Thrice had Genoa changed under the form of a republic, in constant terror from the presence of

foreign force; oppressed by the English at sea—by the French, the Prussians, and the Germans on land; now in assisting the rights of man, now in advocating legitimate government; desolated by a siege, desolated by pestilence; obliged to yield to violence that which she had acquired by industry, no element of health remained in her constitution. After fifteen years of martyrdom, ten centuries of independence terminated in subjection to the harsh yoke of a soldier. Milan the rich, spoiled first by republicans, then by the adverse party, had been first a republic without a name, then a republic, bearing sometimes one name and then another; at one time a German province called an Imperial regency, at another a French province by the style of the kingdom of Italy, but always subdued, always in slavery; and at last she had yielded to him who could believe that the most precious fruit of his conquests was the revival of the iron crown of Luitprand and the serpent of the Visconti. On the subject of Venice I will be brief, since, after so much slaughter, so many outrages, such frequent spoliation, whether as a German or a French province, she knew all that either servitude entailed.

In afflicted Parma, the traces of the generosity of Dutillot were daily wearing out; and though wheedled with fair words for the ends of Spain, when under the Duke, she was, nevertheless, in fact, the victim of the extortions of insatiable avarice. Then subjected to the vexatious caprices of Napoleon's agents, first under St. Mery, and subsequently much more under Junot, passing from one form of slavery to another, she was able to judge how much it availed her to appeal and re-appeal for the redress of her grievances to distant Paris. Tuscany had yet a more miserable alternation, of rapine and invasion from without, and of internal disturbances and temporary governments; now of republican, now of imperial tumults; of various regencies under various names; of boy kings and baby kings; of military commanders with supreme authority; and of now Austrian, now Bourbon Princes, and now again the Princess Eliza; of a pestilential inundation of disorderly soldiers—Neapolitan, French, Russian, German, or Northern Italians. The age of Napoleon destroyed the works of the age of Leopold. Rome—red with the blood of the French envoys, was red with the

blood of Romans, slain in the defence of their country's laws;—red with the blood of Italians, shed profusely, but not in the defence of their country's rights; sacked, trampled under foot, torn to pieces by all, she knew not whom she might call a friend or enemy. French, Russians, Germans, Cisalpines, Neapolitans, and even Turks, attacked her in turns both by their ambition and by their arms. Her temples were profaned, her sacred treasures robbed, her museums pillaged; the paintings of Raphael were destroyed by barbarian soldiers; notwithstanding that all in turn declared that they were guided only by the desire of promoting the felicity of Rome. Rome beheld a papal government enslaved, a republic enslaved, a papal government restored with an appearance of power that was but a mockery; she saw a conquered Pope, a tributary Pope, a captive Pope, a Pope summoned to crown his enemy. She saw priests crouching to Turks, papists fawning on the English, real republicans flattering those who were so only in name, lovers of liberty paying their adulations to tyrants; witnessed delusive hopes on one side, fraud on the other—and between delu-

sion, and fraud there arose a labyrinth of deception, a mirage of chimerical expectation, a perversion of judgment, such as to force one to confess that if the gregarious instinct were not all-powerful in man, the Roman people would have dispersed to lead an erratic life in sylvan solitude, or have remained together only to destroy each other. Never was a series of more afflicting experiments made on an unhappy people, or to equal those of which the Romans were the victims. That they should have survived them seems miraculous. Yet if greater evils they could not endure, greater scandals they were yet destined to behold, and we, with grief and indignation, to relate. It might have been thought that monarchy would have respected the rights of monarchy; but the injuries inflicted by her were greater than the evils caused by anarchy. Such was the condition of desolated Rome,—the treasury exhausted, individuals in poverty, the ornaments of the city lost, the minds of men divided, and all things inciting to revenge.

In coming to speak of Naples, I know not how to furnish myself with adequate expressions; for the people are like the climate. On the one side an

extreme of benevolence that borders on ideal virtue, on the other an extreme of hatred that borders on ferocity; conspiracies, civil war, foreign wars, conflagrations, devastation, treachery, executions of the virtuous, and of the infamous; but the sword of the executioner fell more frequently on the just than on the unjust. To these we must add acts of heroism, of invincible courage, of perfect friendship even in misfortune, civic moderation even in want, the gentlest thoughts of happy humanity, the purest desires for the common good; now a kingdom agitated by conspiracies; now a république contaminated by rapine, now a kingdom full of cruelty, and now the theatre of rapine also; Ferdinand twice driven away, again restored; a republic the slave of France, a monarchy the slave of England; a republic established by force through the agency of a soldier, a monarchy restored by force through the agency of a priest;* the first accomplished by an immense slaughter of Lazzaroni, the latter by an equal number of republicans. The same individuals who

* Cardinal Ruffo.—He died at Naples, Dec. 13th, 1827, in his 83d year.

had fawned on Championnet the republican, and on Ferdinand the King, now crouched to the monarch Joseph; and on another side might be beheld on the same field the cross of Christ in close alliance with the crescent of Mahomet. Altogether these things form a tale so marvellous, that when the eyes and the ears of those who have seen them and have heard them shall be closed, none could be found to give them credit, were not testimonies multiplied by the press.

No good institution could arise out of so miserable a medley. Every foundation of civil order was broken up, and soldiers were formed to serve others. Some maintain that a good effect was produced from this in the Italian kingdom at least, as there the military spirit was revived, and good soldiers were formed for the defence of Italy. Certainly excellent soldiers were formed under Napoleon; yet employed as they were in foreign contests, I do not see how they were to love Italy; and how they were to learn to defend her, unless we choose to believe that devastating the territory of others, and destroying the name and independence

of foreign nations, is a beneficial lesson of patriotism to soldiers.

Slavery, however, arrayed herself in splendour; and in this Napoleon was unparalleled; for works of the greatest magnificence, works of the greatest utility, were executed. Milan, more especially, excelled in magnificence: the noble mass of the Ambrosian temple was daily increasing—the Forum of Buonaparte daily becoming greater. The Viceroy Eugene fostered the higher branches of painting, sculpture, and architecture. The court which promoted slavery promoted also the fine arts. New canals were cut, new bridges raised, new roads opened. Neither rocks nor precipices were esteemed any obstacle; for, stimulated by Napoleon, human skill overcame every difficulty. Under his reign, and at his command, two works were executed, to which the most splendid and the most useful of those of the ancient Romans could scarcely be compared. These were the road of the Simplon and that of Mont Cenis, which, affording an easy opening amongst the bleakest and highest rocks of Italy and France, will perpetually attest

to future ages the skill and activity of the French, and the power of him who ruled the destinies of the world in the beginning of the nineteenth century. How would he have deserved our blessings, had he not corrupted, by despotism, the benefits he thus conferred?

The time had now arrived for Napoleon to turn against the King of Spain, and the means employed were worthy of the end proposed. To sow discord in the royal family; to raise suspicions in the breast of the father against the son; to excite anger in the mind of the son against the father; to place in doubt the conjugal fidelity of the Queen; and, at the same time, to caress the object who caused those doubts to be felt, making him an instrument of the intended treachery against the state; to asperse the fame of a deceased princess, reproaching her with being of the blood of Caroline of Naples; to accuse a Spanish prince of taking part in the machinations of Caroline, because he loved Spain better than France; to cause a suspicion of treason and fraud to fall on every transaction at Madrid and Aranjuez; and to banish from

their precincts, all peace, all trust, and confidence; to these ends were the arts of Napoleon directed. The impetuosity of the Spanish character burst for a time his web of treachery, by raising Ferdinand to the throne, and deposing Charles; but Napoleon quickly wove the thread anew, and the unexpected occurrences at Aranjuez, which had threatened to destroy the snare, afforded him an opportunity of giving it full effect. His flatteries decoyed Charles to Bayonne; and he succeeded in alluring Ferdinand thither also. He now rejoiced in the completion of his plot; he made the father call his son a rebel, and the mother term him a bastard; he made the public gazettes accuse him of an intended paricide; he constrained both the father and the son to abdicate in his favour; the former he banished to Marseilles, there to possess but a shadow of freedom, and the latter he sent a prisoner to Valencey. His insatiable desire of the exaltation of his own family impelled him to name Joseph King of Spain, and Murat King of Naples. For this purpose had the treaty of Fontainebleau been concluded,

which, in promising increase of territory to the King of Spain, had procured the introduction of the French troops into his kingdom. But consequences far different from the results anticipated by the framer of these machinations arose out of them. The Spaniards, indignant at the infamous treachery, rose against the French. Napoleon and his hireling scribes called them brigands and assassins; the only calumny wanting to fill up the full measure of injury.

Napoleon, being obliged to diminish his force in Germany, in order to increase his army in Spain, began to fear some re-action in that quarter; he, therefore, deemed a fresh demonstration of friendship on the part of Russia desirable; and, in compliance with his pressing requests, Alexander met him at Erfurth. Here the public ceremonials of reception were splendid—the private conferences marked by familiar intimacy. The world was filled with expectation and fear, in thus seeing monarchs powerful beyond all their contemporaries discuss together the destinies of mankind. Those who abhorred the despotic empire of Napoleon despaired of

the liberties of Europe, because the two preponderating powers being animated by one sole will, there was none left to whom appeal might be made; none who could afford succour; in fine, no source of hope. Those who dreaded the gradually increasing power of Russia were much averse to see her called to take so active a part in the affairs of Europe; especially as habits are more easily contracted than laid aside, and the desire of domination never diminishes; but, on the contrary, continually increases, nor ever admits of cure. The conduct of Napoleon was inconsistent and capricious, and his measures were, therefore, not likely to last: while the wary and methodical proceedings of Russia gave better founded cause of alarm. The scenes that were acted at Erfurth had, on the part of Napoleon, more of display than of policy; but on the side of Alexander, there was more art than exhibition.

Joachim Murat, the new King of Naples, announced his accession to the nation. "The august Napoleon," he said, "had given him the kingdom of the two Sicilies. Gratitude to the donor, and a desire to benefit his subjects;

would divide his heart. He would preserve the constitution granted by his predecessor; he would bring Caroline, his august spouse, Prince Achilles, his royal son, and his other children yet in infancy, and commit them to their faith and their love; he trusted that the magistrates would fulfil their duty: this would secure the happiness of the people, and his favour as their Sovereign." Neapolitan adulation now commenced its labours. The council of state, the clergy, and the nobility, sent deputies to bear their homage to king Joachim; they met him at Gaeta, and took the oaths. Naples, in the mean time, put forth tokens of exultation: there were displayed inscriptions, trophies, statues, triumphal arches, every thing in festal pomp. An equestrian statue in the square of the Mercatello was erected to Augustus Napoleon,* another in the square of the palace represented Queen Caroline, under the attributes of Juno. Perignon, a marshal of France, and an esteemed commander, presented the keys of Naples to Joachim. Generals,

* Napoleon was at this period sometimes so called: the princes of his family added his name to their own, as Louis Napoleon—Joseph Napoleon, &c.

chamberlains, equerries, officers, soldiers, some with their swords at their sides, some with their keys embroidered at their pocket holes, and a numerous and various multitude of the populace, some with laurels and others olive branches. Cardinal Firrao, bearing the sacred relics, received Joachim at the porch of the church of the Spirito Santo, under the canopy of state, whence conducting him to a throne highly ornamented for the purpose, mass was performed and the Ambrosian hymn chaunted. These ceremonies being ended, Joachim went to take possession of the royal palace, passing through the street of Toledo, which was filled by a crowd of people, who were much prepossessed by the youth and beauty of their new King. A few days afterwards, the King having met her at San Leucia, Queen Caroline made a brilliant and magnificent entrance: all youth and beauty, like her husband, she shone resplendent. The assembled crowd gazed on the symmetry of her form; they contemplated her sweet and noble bearing; and in her sought the features of her brother Napoleon. The general acclamation hailed her, happy, good, and great.

The commencement of Murat's reign was felicitous; the English, however, occupied the island of Capri, which, being placed at the opening of the gulf, is the key of the bay of Naples. Their presence stimulated all who were averse to the new government, intimidated its adherents, and impeded the freedom of navigation, to the manifest injury of commerce; besides, it was considered disgraceful, that one of the *Napoleonides* should suffer an enemy so near, and that enemy the English, who were at once so hated and so despised. The indolence of Joseph had patiently suffered the disgrace; but Joachim, a spirited soldier, was indignant at it, and he thought it necessary to commence his reign by some important enterprise. He armed therefore against Capri: Sir Hudson Lowe was there in garrison with two regiments collected from all the nations of Europe, and which were called the Royal Corsican and the Royal Maltese. The island afforded several strong stations—the heights of Anacarpi, the greater fort, the forts of St. Michael and San Costanzo. A body of French and Neapolitans were sent from Naples and Salerno, under the command of

General Lamarque, to reduce the island; and they effected a landing, by means of ladders hung to the rocks by iron hooks, and thus possessed themselves of Anacarpi, though not without great difficulty, as the English resolutely defended themselves. Here they took about eight hundred prisoners of the Royal Maltese regiment. Anacarpi commands the upper part of the island, but the lower was yet to be gained. The chief obstacle was the difficulty of the descent by a narrow path cut in steps in the rock, into which the forts, and especially that of St. Michael incessantly poured their fire. It became necessary to erect batteries on the summits, to level the fortresses. The siege proceeded but slowly—succours of men and ammunition reached the besieged from Sicily; but fortune favoured the enemy, as an adverse wind drove the English out to sea. The King, who superintended the operations from the shore of Massa, having waited at the point of Campanella, seizing the propitious moment, sent fresh squadrons in aid of Lamarque, and the English, being already broken, and the forts dismantled, now yielded to the conqueror. The Neapolitans were

highly gratified by the acquisition of Capri, and from that event augured well of the new government.

The kingdom of Naples contained three classes of people—barons, republicans, and populace. The barons willingly joined the party of the new king, because they were pleased by the honours granted to them, and they were not without hopes of recovering their ancient privileges, or at least of acquiring new ones, as the system of the Napoleonists tended to this end, notwithstanding the demonstrations they put forth to the contrary. The republicans were, on the contrary, inimical to Joachim, not because he was a king, for they easily accommodated themselves to royalty; but because his conduct in Tuscany, where he had driven them forth or bound them in chains like malefactors, had rendered him personally obnoxious to them. They were moreover disgusted by his incredible vanity, which led him to court and caress with the most zealous adulation every bearer of a feudal title. They therefore feared that he would, at some favourable conjuncture, deliver them over as a prey to those who thirsted

for his blood: notwithstanding all this, however, a few favours on his part gained them over, for their minds were subdued by misfortune. The populace, who cared no more for Joachim than they had done for Joseph, would easily have contented themselves with the new government, if it had protected them from the oppressions of the barons, and had procured for them quiet and abundance. But Joachim, wholly intent on courting the nobles, neglected the people, who, oppressed by the barons and soldiery, became alienated from him. His silence also as to the constitution, which Joseph had appeared willing to grant at the moment of his departure, seemed an omen of his intention to govern despotically. The spirit of discontent was further increased by his introduction of the conscription laws of France: the feudal lords resented this as an infringement of their privileges, and the people could not reconcile themselves to so bold an innovation; as, however, the provinces were not quieted, and Calabria was, as usual, in a state of furious discord, the provincial regiments were enrolled. This measure had been already decreed by Joseph, though but

negligently executed under his administration. Thus was every one under arms: they who were not paid as soldiers were obliged to become part of the unpaid militia. Really, when I consider the laws throughout Europe, I feel amazed; for to me it seems that in nations where one half or more of the public revenues go to the pay of standing armies, the people might expect to be protected by them; and that the citizen who contributes his children to their ranks, and his share of taxes towards their support, in order that he should be defended by the government, might well expect to be so; and yet I see, when he has furnished his quota of taxes, and yielded his sons up, still is he obliged to gird on his sword and stand himself upon his own defence. These are the liberties—these the advantages, of European society.

Joachim, a soldier himself, permitted every thing to his soldiery; and an insupportable military license was the result. Hence, also, they became the sole support of his power, and it took no root in the affections of the people. The insolence of the troops continually augmented: not only every desire, but every caprice of the head of a

regiment, nay, even of the inferior officers, was to be complied with, as if they were the laws of the realm; and whosoever even lamented his subjection to their will was ill-treated and incurred some risk of being declared an enemy to the King. The lower order had much reason to complain of the oppressions of the barons; but those of Joachim's subalterns were yet more intolerable. The people represented the grievances, and demanded protection and redress, but military predilections spoke louder than their complaints; and it was held as great good fortune for those who presumed to complain, that they were not visited with severer inflictions than before. An indignant silence, and a sufferance that coveted revenge, reigned in the provinces. Nor was the state of things better in the capital: the royal guard itself, which waited on the person of Joachim, transgressed beyond all measure. There was no tranquillity allowed to the citizens; no civil order was observed either in the silence of the night or in the enjoyments of the day; for it was enough that such was the will of an officer of the guard; and importunate noises, threats, and insults, destroyed

the slumbers or the amusements of every other class. To the military the King permitted every thing. The commissioners of the civil magistracy, who tried to restrain such baneful excesses, were reviled by the soldiers, scoffed at, and beaten; and some of them were even arrested by the unbridled soldiery for having done their duty; were led under the windows of the royal palace, and whilst the King looked on were made the mark of every indignity. This was the condition of Naples,—this was a government worse than that of Turkey; but the reign of Murat was still too recent to admit of such proceedings,—cruel as they regarded his subjects, to himself they were fraught with danger.

The discontents produced by the enormities committed by the troops of Murat gave hopes to the court of Palermo that its fortunes might be re-established in the kingdom beyond the Faro. Meanwhile, the civil war raged in Calabria; no were the Abruzzi tranquil. In these disturbances there were various factions in arms, and various objects were pursued: some of those who fought against Joachim, and had fought against Joseph,

were adherents of Ferdinand,—others were the partisans of a republican constitution. I pass over those, and they were many, who took arms merely from a love of pillage and bloodshed. It will not, perhaps, be deemed tedious if I recount how, and for what end, the sect of the Carbonari arose at this period. Some of the most zealous republicans having, during the persecution that raged against them, withdrawn themselves to the highest mountains and the deepest recesses of Abruzzo and Calabria, bore with them an extreme hatred to the Sovereign, not only because he had been their persecutor, but because he was likewise King: nor were they less inflamed with animosity against the French, as well because they had destroyed their own republic, and other similar governments, as because they had persecuted them: nor could they endure with patience that, in their presence, men should talk of Ferdinand, nor even of Joachim, nor so much as of monarchy in the abstract. Thus, living amid steep rocks, hidden vallies, and wide solitudes, their hatred against kings and against the French continually augmented. But, at first isolated, and scattered far and wide through their various places of refuge, no common bond united

them,—they were intent rather on keeping alive the spirit of vengeance within their own minds than on satiating it by overt action. The English, who kept possession of Sicily, were apprised of this angry spirit, and conjectured that it might serve to excite an insurrection against the French. With this view they excited them to confederate amongst themselves, so that they might firmly co-operate in the same designs, and add fresh proselytes to their ranks. To instigate them the rather to this the English promised them some sort of constitution. The sect of the Carbonari thus sprung up, and took their name from the circumstance of *carbone*, that is, charcoal, being made in large quantities in the mountains of the Abruzzo and Calabria, where they first arose and displayed themselves; many of the fraternity also knew and exercised the art of making charcoal. Afterwards, as they were well aware that nothing serves more to attract partisans than occult and extraordinary practices, they established strange ceremonies and rights of admission. The chief instigator of their proceedings, and their principal leader, was Capobianco, a man endowed with extraordinary powers of persuasive eloquence.

The Carbonari had thus much in common with the freemasons, that they passed successively through four ranks, that they jealously concealed their rites, and were known to each other by peculiar signs. But in other particulars, the two fraternities differed widely, inasmuch as the objects of the freemasons are, as regards others, acts of beneficence —as regards themselves, the enjoyment of the festive hour; whereas the attention of the Carbonari was exclusively directed to state policy. The rules of the Carbonari were much more austere than those of the freemasons, for they held no banquets, nor did convivial songs or strains of music enliven their meetings. Their symbol was, the destruction of the wolf to avenge the slaughter of the lamb; Jesus Christ was figured under the type of the lamb, and kings in general, whom they invariably called tyrants, under that of the wolf. In their own jargon they called themselves sheep, and whatever monarch they lived under was termed the wolf. They maintained, moreover, that Jesus Christ had been the first, as he was the most exalted victim of tyranny, and to avenge him they swore to slay all tyrants. Thus then, as the

freemasons engage to avenge their Hiram, the Carbonari profess to avenge the death of Christ. Their ranks were chiefly filled up by men of the lowest order of society, whose imaginations were powerfully affected by vivid representations of the passion and death of Christ; and when their mystic rites were performed in their secret assemblies, a bloody corpse was exposed, which they said was the body of Christ: nor is it difficult to judge of the effect such horrible representations were likely to produce on the fervid fancy of Neapolitans. They had various signs of mutual recognition; amongst others, they joined hands, and each made the sign of the cross with his thumb on the palm of his brother. What the freemasons call lodges they called barracks, and termed their meetings sales, alluding to the real Carbonari, who descend from the mountains to the plains in order to vend their charcoal. They were, as we have before intimated, determined republicans, nor would they tolerate the name of any other form of government; and at Catanzaro they had already formed a republic under the command of the same Capobianco whom we have just named. Ranco-

rously did they hate the French, and Murat they hated with double rancour, as being both a Frenchman and a king: nevertheless, they were not on this account favourably inclined towards Ferdinand, as it was their wish to be without a king altogether. This sect, which first sprang up in Abruzzo and Calabria, spread through the other parts of the kingdom, and finally penetrated into Romagna, where they introduced their customs and gained proselytes to their opinions. In Naples itself they swarmed, and not a few of the Lazzaroni were members of the secret league.

Ferdinand, knowing that the power of the Carbonari was considerable, was persuaded by the urgent solicitations of Caroline, and the promises of the English, to make some attempt to induce them if possible to coalesce with his adherents, in order to drive the French out of Naples and to restore himself to the throne. The chief mediator in these negociations was the Prince of Moliterno, who had recently returned from England, where he had gone in hopes of persuading that government that a declaration of the union and independence of all Italy was a necessary step if they wished

effectually to oppose the French in that kingdom; but the English would not listen to this proposal; distrusting the Prince because he had been a republican. He therefore retired to Calabria, and, putting himself at the head of Cardinal Ruffo's ancient followers, raised a serious commotion against Joachim. He spoke energetically of the union and independence of Italy, and in this project was warmly seconded by the Queen, who had persuaded herself that this allurement would not only excite the people to effect the restoration of her ancient possessions, but also prove the means of gaining some new acquisition of importance. Moliterno seemed well adapted to carry on these negociations with the Carbonari, because, in the time of Championet, he had been an adherent of the republic, and in consequence of his political opinions had been proscribed by the court; and the Carbonari, partly because they were cruelly persecuted by Murat's soldiers, partly because Moliterno was suspected of republicanism, and partly because they were rejoiced at the prospect of the union and independence of Italy, lent a favourable ear to the

proposals of the Prince and the Queen. Notwithstanding this, they still showed themselves ill-disposed towards Ferdinand, and were extremely reluctant to enter into any agreement with the royal agents. To overcome their repugnance, the regal government of Palermo gave them hopes, that a free constitution, in all respects consonant to their desires, should be granted to them. Stimulated by these various motives, and especially by the promises made to them, they, at last, consented to unite with the adherents of Ferdinand, in order to free the kingdom from the French. Such was the determination of the major part; but the most rigid amongst the sect abhorring the idea of forming a league of any kind with those who were the dependents of royalty, continued dissentient; and this party of rigorists consisted of those who had formed the above-mentioned republic of Catanzaro.

The junction of the Carbonari and the royalists gave Ferdinand greater force in Calabria. But Joachim, who had not the supineness of Joseph, was not wanting on his side, and made a vigorous

resistance, especially in the walled districts; the French troops under Portonneaux, the Neapolitan soldiers, and the provincial guards, co-operated in the general defence. Every thing was thrown into confusion: Calabria appertained neither to Ferdinand nor to Joachim. The military and the insurgents commanded here and there, prevailing now in one place, now in another.

Then ensued all the effects of irregular warfare and civil broils: burnings, devastation, pillage, violation, and not slaughter only, but assassination. These horrible atrocities became the more frequent in proportion as, availing themselves of the confusion of a state of warfare, dissolute men of every description, banditti, thieves, and assassins, who cared neither for republic nor monarchy, for Ferdinand nor Joachim, neither for the French nor the English, for the Pope nor the Grand Turk, but were intent only on pillage and slaughter, issued from their most secret hiding places in order to commit those actions which humanity abhors, and which the historian shudders to recount. Thus from this time Calabria was for

two whole years red with blood wantonly spilled, until at last the terror caused by judicial executions brought it to a more tolerable condition.

Ruin prevailed on every side: Spain was in flames; Italy and the southern part of Germany were under the direct dominion of Napoleon; Austria feared him; Prussia obeyed him; Russia was devoted to him; Turkey ranked in the number of his adherents; and the whole European continent, either from necessity or servility, rendered obedience to Napoleon. One prince alone, living in the heart of Italy, destitute of military power, but strong in conscience, resisted the sovereign will. Napoleon, spurred on by ambition, blinded by prosperity, had put forth certain phrases respecting the empire of Charlemagne, calling himself his successor in right and in fact, as if the public officers of France, who received their stipends from him, had possessed the power, when they styled him Emperor of the French, of giving him at the same time the supreme dominion, and the effective possession, not only of France, but of the whole of Italy, of Spain, and of Germany, of the entire extent of

territory; in fine, which composed the empire of the west in the time of that glorious Emperor.

Bearing therefore the standard of Charlemagne on high, Napoleon set forth against the Pope. He could not patiently tolerate the idea that Rome, whose name had so exalted a sound, should not be under his dominion; and was mortified that one small part should yet remain in Italy exempt from his sway. The Pope, on his side, refused to allow himself to be reduced to that servile condition into which almost all the princes of Europe had fallen, some from pusillanimity, others from necessity. Thus while those who were armed succumbed, Pius the Seventh, who was defenceless, resisted, and not only opposed the sovereign lord of France, but strongly remonstrated with him, bitterly complaining, that by the organic articles and the decree of Melzi, both the concordats had been perverted, to the prejudice of the Apostolic See and to the manifest violation of the decrees of the councils, and even of the precepts of the holy gospel itself. He lamented that by the civil code of France, which had been introduced also into Italy by the orders of the Emperor, a law of divorce

was established, which was contrary to the maxims of the church and to the divine precepts. He reprobated the equality granted to various religions by the law of France, which professed to be and was a Catholic country, and yet placed Dissenters and Catholics on the same footing, not even excepting the Jews, the irreconcileable enemies of the religion of Christ.

On all these subjects he admonished the Emperor, and required him to fulfil the promises he had made for the benefit of the Catholic religion; but Napoleon, the conqueror of Austria, of Prussia, and of Russia, was no longer the same Napoleon he had been when yet in the infancy of his power. Determined, therefore, by one means or other to execute his design of making himself master of Rome, whether the Pope should remain there or not, he sent to inform Pius, "that as he was the successor of Charlemagne, the pontifical states, which had been a part of the empire of the said Charlemagne, consequently appertained to the French empire; that if the Pontiff was the lord of Rome, he was not less the emperor of it; and that to him as the successor of Charlemagne

the Pope owed obedience in temporal matters, as he, on the other hand, owed the Pontiff obedience in spiritual concerns; that one of the rights inherent in his crown was that of exhorting, nay, of forcing the ruler of Rome to form with him and with his successors a league offensive and defensive in every war, whether at present or in future; and that the Pope, being the vassal of the empire Charlemagne, could not avoid entering into this league, but was bound to hold as his enemy every enemy of Napoleon. He added, that "if the Pope should refuse to comply with his demands, he possessed the right of annulling the donation of Charlemagne, and of dividing the pontifical states, and bestowing them on whomsoever he chose; that he would separate the temporal from the spiritual authority in the person of the Pope; that he would send a governor to Rome with full powers, and would leave to the Pope only the simple office of bishop of Rome."

The rigorous demands thus plainly intimated to the Pontiff, who had not given Napoleon any cause of complaint, but had even aided him by his whole authority to mount the Imperial throne,

demonstrated an irrevocable determination. The Pope replied, that "it was an extraordinary circumstance that the Sovereign of Rome should, after ten centuries of uncontested possession, be obliged to make his defence against him whom a short time since he had consecrated Emperor. The world knew that the glorious Emperor Charlemagne (whose memory would be for ever hallowed in the church) had not given the pontifical provinces to the Holy See;* for it was well known that they had been possessed by the Roman pontiffs in times long anterior to Charlemagne, by the free gift of the nations who had been abandoned by the emperors of the east. It was also known that in process of time the exarchates of Ravenna and of Pentapolis, which comprized these same provinces, being invaded by the Lombards, the illustrious Pepin, the father of Charlemagne, had taken them out of their hands, and had appropriated them, by a solemn act of donation, to Pope Stephen. The great Emperor, the ornament and the admiration of the eighth

* Charlemagne has been canonized, and his relics are honoured like those of other saints.

century, not only did not revoke the pious and generous act of his father Pepin, but further confirmed and approved it in the reign of Pope Adrian; not only did he refuse to despoil the Holy See of her possessions, but his only desire was to restore them to her, and to augment them. So far did this pious spirit excite him, that his testament expressly commanded his three sons to defend the possessions of the church, declaring that his successors possessed no authority nor any right to revoke what his father Pepin had done in favour of the chair of St. Peter; and that his sole desire was to protect the Roman pontiffs against their enemies, and not to oblige them to declare themselves against them." The Pope then observed, that the lapse of ten centuries—a thousand years of peaceful possession, rendered all anterior research, every posterior interpretation, unnecessary; and, finally, even supposing that the pretended rights of Charlemagne had not been without foundation, the Emperor Napoleon had not found either the Holy See, or the Pope, in the same situation in which Charlemagne had found them; since Napoleon had found the Holy See free, and

subject to none, having possessed the full and entire sovereignty of all its states for ten centuries without interruption; and that the sanguinary victories he had gained over other kingdoms gave him no right to invade the states of the Pontiff, since the Pontiff had always lived at peace with him."

The Pope replied too seriously to the allegations of Napoleon, for no man thought them more futile than Napoleon himself: certainly, if every ancient pretension, true or assumed, which had been confirmed by time, were to be thus called in question, no property would be secure, and the world would be one universal scene of confusion. The Emperor, however, continued to demand in a threatening tone, that the Pope should enter into the Italian confederation with the Kings of Italy and Naples;—that their enemies should be his enemies, and their friends his friends. But on the Pope's steadily refusing to join this confederation, the Emperor demanded that he should make a league of offence and defence with him alone; and if he refused, this was to be considered a declaration of war; and Napoleon said he would regard him as an enemy, and would make Rome his

own by conquest. This last proposition rendered the situation of the Pope rather worse than better; for the object of the confederacy was a defensive union against the infidels and the English; whereas the league offensive and defensive with Napoleon alone implied that the Pope should make war against any prince or state at war with the Emperor: whence it might arise that he might be obliged not only to make war with a Catholic prince, but even to unite himself to any anti-Catholic power, in order to make war against a Catholic state—a condition of things wholly incompatible with the duties of the Holy See. The Pope further stated, that if pontiffs had in former times been known to enter into treaties, and make war against Catholic princes, it was, however, not in the records of history, that they should bind themselves to engage in perpetual hostility at the will of another, without enjoying the privilege of exercising their own judgment as to the justice of the motives, but simply because it was the pleasure of another. Pius exclaimed that his soul was afflicted with grief and horror, when he reflected on the nature of the alliance the Emperor

had demanded, "Would not such a league, offensive and defensive, arm the father against the son, the son against the father? Was not this to engage the church of God in endless quarrels,—that church in which charity, peace, and gentleness, with every other virtue, ought to dwell as in their own proper sanctuary; was not this to desire that the supreme Pontiff should no longer be Aaron but Ishmael, a man of blood, an alien to civilized society, his hand lifted against every man, and the hand of every man lifted against him? Must he not thus raise the standard of war against his own brethren? Was this the mode in which peace was to be restored to the church of God?—that peace which the divine Saviour had left to the apostles, to the pontiffs, their successors, and to Pius himself? The Emperor should seek this peace, which is the peace of the wise, a peace better than the triumphs of the warrior, the peace of those truly wise who are the salvation of the earth; he should seek that wisdom which renders a monarch the stay of his people; but if he would not seek it for himself, he ought at least to suffer the pontiffs to enjoy it, whose proper inheritance it was, given to

them by Christ the Redeemer. The Pope was the common father of all believers; he was bound to bestow on them all spiritual aid: this aid it would not be possible for him to communicate to the subjects of a prince against whom, in virtue of the league, he might be obliged to wage war. The lustre of a double sovereignty adorned the pontificate, and it behoved him not to derogate in aught from his primary spiritual office out of temporal motives, nor act in aught to the prejudice of that religion, of which he was the head, the disseminator, and the defender."

Having thus solemnly declared his sentiments to Napoleon, Pius proceeded to say, "that if for the hidden designs of God, the Emperor should put his threats into execution, and possess himself of the states of the church by conquest, his Holiness being unable to prevent so fatal an event, would protest against it, as a violent and iniquitous usurpation; he moreover declared, that not the work of genius, of policy, or of knowledge (Napoleon having used these same words in speaking of the ordinances of the Roman See) would be destroyed, but truly that of God himself, from whom all

sovereignty proceeded; his Holiness humbly adoring the decrees of heaven, would console himself with the thought, that God is the almighty father of all, and that all things yield to his divine will when that fulness of time pre-ordained by him arrives;" these prophetic words were addressed by Pius to Napoleon. The Emperor persisted in declaring that he would never suffer the doctrine which maintained that prelates were not the subjects of the princes in whose dominions they were born, and that his determination was, that all Italy, Rome, Naples, and Milan should be united in one common league, offensive and defensive, in order to free the peninsula from the disorders of war; he defended his obstinacy from the pretext that the freedom of communication ought not, and could not be interrupted either in peace or in war by an intermediate territory, between his states of Milan and Naples, which he did not command. He moreover ordered, that the ports of the pontifical states should be shut against the English. To this the Pontiff replied, "that if Napoleon had taken possession of Naples, Milan, and Tuscany, that was certainly no fault of his; and that in former

wars between France, Austria, and Spain, the pontifical states had always been intermediate, a circumstance of which these powers had never complained, nor even had thought of making it a pretext for depriving the sovereigns of Rome of their dominions; in the present case, the alleged interruption did not exist, the Roman state being occupied by the soldiers of the Emperor, who with full liberty, and to the intolerable burthen of the apostolical chamber, continually passed and repassed to and from the kingdom of Italy and the kingdom of Naples. As for shutting the ports against the English, although it might be feared that it could not be done without some injury to the Catholics who inhabited Ireland, the Pope would, nevertheless, for the love of peace concede this point to the Emperor."

Napoleon, to whom the Imperial crown seemed defective as long as Rome was wanting to his empire, prepared to subvert that power which for so many centuries, and amidst so many revolutions in Italy and throughout the rest of the world, had continued to subsist. That force might be aided by fraud, he accompanied his declarations by

phrases of humanity, expressing a desire to promote the liberty of the secular power: "Priests" he said, "were not fit to govern; immersed in theological studies, they were unacquainted with man. Rome had sufficiently agitated the world; the age could no longer tolerate her usurpations. The progress of knowledge had shown in what estimation the decrees of the Vatican were to be held. Every one was now convinced of the absurdity of uniting the sacerdotal and regal offices; the temporal with the spiritual authority; the crown and the tiara, the sword and the cross. Jesus Christ had said that his kingdom was not of this world, the kingdom of his vicar ought not, therefore, to be an earthly throne. Charlemagne had given the sovereignty of Rome to the popes for the good of Christendom, and not to enable them to spread discord and war; then, since they had chosen to abuse the gift, it ought to be revoked. Pius was in future to be no longer the ruler, but simply the bishop, of Rome. By these means tranquillity and the interests of religion would be provided for at one and the same time." In order to make himself Emperor, Napoleon had

employed religion against philosophy, and now to make himself master of Rome he armed himself with philosophy against religion; alternately stimulating, as the dictates of his ambition prompted, the priests against the philosophers, and the philosophers against the priests. Foreseeing that a great number of the pious in France would advocate the justice of the Pope's cause, would hear with displeasure the resolutions he had taken against them, and would call them *persecutions*, a word of powerful effect amongst Christians, he applied himself to flatter the French with his usual art; by an attempt to increase the dignity and the authority of the nation in ecclesiastical matters; believing that the French, having already the predominance in temporal affairs, would be well pleased to acquire it in spiritual concerns also: he therefore urgently demanded, that the Pope should acknowledge a right in him to nominate so many cardinals; that the third at least of the sacred college should be French, threatening as usual to deprive the Pope of his temporal power in case of refusal. If the Pope consented to this, Napoleon would acquire a preponderating influence in every

deliberation of the sacred college, and more especially in the nomination of popes; if he refused, it would appear to the French nation, that he refused them that which they believed the power of France fully entitled her to. The Pope replied, that he could not consent to a demand which infringed the liberty of the church—which violated the integral principles of her constitution. "Was it not known to every one that the body of cardinals was the most important and the most essential part of the Roman hierarchy. Their first duty was to advise the supreme pontiff. Who then possessed, who then ought to possess, the privilege of electing men capable of worthily supporting so exalted a dignity, so serious a responsibility, if it were not he whom it was their duty to counsel? Had not all the princes of the earth counsellors of their own election? Why, then, should this privilege be denied to the Roman church and the Roman pontiff alone? Further, the cardinals were not only the counsellors, but the electors of the popes; and what freedom could there be in the elections if a temporal prince were to name so great a proportion of the electors?

If this power were granted to Napoleon, would not other princes demand the same, and would not the Roman pontiff then be entirely in the power of the secular princes? It was undoubtedly expedient that the cardinals should be elected from every Catholic nation; but expediency was not necessity. The only rule the pope should observe, in the election of cardinals, was to prefer those who were most distinguished for virtue, for learning, and for piety, of whatever nation they might be, whatever language they might speak. The Pope knew that his refusal would be misrepresented by the malicious, and attributed to an unjust depreciation of the clergy of France; but he called God and man to witness that such were not his sentiments. The clergy themselves, the Emperor, and the world in general, must be convinced of this, as they already saw amidst the members of the sacred college, besides two Genoese and one native of Alexandria, seven cardinals of the French nation, to which number it was his intention to add one other learned and virtuous prelate. Whosoever was capable of being contented would content himself with this; but the

Holy Father could not gratify others by doing that which was repugnant to his own mind.'

The Emperor adhered inflexibly to his resolution—he sent a fresh intimation to the Pope, that if he did not concede to his nomination of the third of the cardinals he would deprive him of the Roman territory. Having endeavoured to render Pius odious to the French, he next sought to render him despicable in the eyes of the world. He imperiously required him to send from Rome the consul of Ferdinand of Naples; on which Pius replied, that he was not at war with that monarch, who still possessed the realm of Sicily—that he was a Catholic sovereign, one whom he would never treat as an enemy, by driving his representative from Rome. The much-coveted Rome fell into the hands of him who coveted all things. If the design had been unjust the execution was not less fraudulent. The Napoleonists approached the confines of the venerable city, but professed no hostile intentions against her. They spread the report that they were merely on their way to Naples, and were seven thousand in number, with Miollis for their commander. A military com-

mander, however, was not expected to be equal of himself alone to the task of oppressing a pope; therefore Alquier, Napoleon's ambassador at Rome, laboured to the same end, and he used even harsher language than the soldier, and more closely imitated his master. About the end of January, Alquier sent to inform Cardinal Philip Casoni, the secretary of state, that seven thousand of the Emperor's troops were to pass through the Roman territory without making any stay in its confines, that Miollis promised that they should pass without any injury to the country, and that he was a man of such character that his promises were certainty. Alquier sent also with this letter the official route of the soldiers, from which it appeared that their line of march was indeed directed to the kingdom of Naples, without passing by Rome;—of such mighty importance was it to delude a pope. Various rumours, however, prevailed: some maintained that the troops were designed for the kingdom of Naples; others, that they were making against Rome through the medium of the Cardinal secretary. The Pope formally required Miollis to declare openly and

without equivocation the object of the march of these soldiers, in order that his Holiness might act accordingly; Miollis replied, that he had forwarded the prescribed route of the soldiers, and that that ought to be sufficient to satisfy the ministers of his Holiness. Time pressed—Napoleon's officers continued their march, the usual jokes being uttered, with the usual derision of the priests, of the Pope, and of the papal soldiers. They began next to threaten that they would enter Rome and occupy the city. The Pope protested anew—forbade them to enter Rome, and commanded them to pass without the walls; protesting that, if they refused, he would consider it a declaration of war, and every amicable relation should be thereby terminated. The Napoleonists were already so near as to be within sight of the walls, and Alquier continually renewed his protestations to the Holy Father, affirming with the most solemn asseverations, that they were only passing through, and had no hostile intention. In the mean time the French troops arrived close at hand, and on the second of

February, attacking the Porta del Popolo, entered it by force, took the castle of St. Angelo, seized all the military posts, and carried their violence so far as to plant their cannon with their mouths turned towards the Quirinal, the peaceful habitation of the Pope. Posterity will place these promises of Alquier, and his confirmatory appeal to the honour of a general officer, on a par with the indignation expressed by Ginguenè, the ambassador of the Directory at Turin, at the base thought that the Piedmontese government could suspect that the French would turn the possession of the citadel against the king. That no circumstance of effrontery might be wanting in this disgusting transaction, Miollis demanded, through Alquier, an audience of the Holy Father, and having obtained it, excused himself by saying that it had not been by his orders that the mouths of the cannon had been turned towards the Quirinal, as if the injury done to the sovereign of Rome and the head of Christendom had consisted only of this single act of violence, which, however, was certainly a grievous outrage: of the fraudu-

lent and forcible occupation of Rome, which was the real matter of importance, he made not the slightest mention.

Fresh insults were continually heaped on the Pope. Napoleon accused him of having granted an asylum in his states to Neapolitan brigands, rebels and conspirators against Murat. He affirmed that this was the reason he had occupied Rome, and accused the Pope himself of connivance. Alquier made it a cause of complaint, as if he did not know that the soldiers of Napoleon, for a long time past, had been the masters of the papal states, and that they had of their own authority, contrary to the law of nations, there arrested and imprisoned, not only those who were suspected, but those also who did not labour under a suspicion of crime; and that the pontifical government itself, whenever application had been made to it, had ordered the arrest and the imprisonment of all who were obnoxious to France. Finally, Alquier—and I know not whether his conduct in this instance were madness or mockery,—desired that the Pope should still continue to treat as friends the troops that had violently

occupied his capital and the seat of his government, and had planted against his peaceful and defenceless palace those deadly instruments of war which ought to be directed only against the fortified towers of an enemy. At this last stroke the Pope, unable to contain his indignation any longer, wrote to Napoleon's ambassador, that he could not continue to regard as friends those troops who, breaking the most solemn promises, had violated the sanctity of his own personal residence,—had infringed upon his liberty,—had occupied the city and the castle, and had turned their cannon against his actual habitation; and who, moreover, were an intolerable burthen to his treasury and his people. He concluded by declaring that, being deprived of his liberty, and reduced to the condition of a prisoner, he would negotiate no longer, nor in future treat with France on any political subject, until he were again restored to security and perfect liberty.

The hardships the Pope endured daily increased. Napoleon's lieutenant ordered the Neapolitan cardinals, Ruffo, Scilla, Pignatelli, Saluzzo, Caracciolo, Caraffa, Trajetto, and Firrao,

to quit Rome in the space of twenty-four hours, and return to Naples; and if they refused to comply, they were threatened with forcible expulsion. The cardinals of the Italian kingdom received a similar command, but their stay was limited to three hours. These Italian cardinals were Valenti, Caradini, Casoni, Crivelli, Joseph Doria, Della Somaglia, Roverella, Scotti, Dugnani, Braschi-Onesti, Litta, Galeffi, Antonio Doria, and Locatelli. They replied, that they owed obedience to the Supreme Pontiff, and would fulfil his commands whatever they might be.

Although he was so entirely in the power of of another, the Pope deeply resented these insults: he wrote to the cardinals, exhorting them to remember their oaths of fealty and the duty they owed to the Holy See, beseeching them to imitate his example, and to bear suffering rather than act unworthily. "His Holiness could not permit them to set out from Rome; he prohibited their departure collectively and individually, in virtue of that obedience which they had vowed to his authority. He commanded them, foreseeing that shameful violence would be resorted to

in order to tear them from his bosom, to remain at whatever place they were carried to, and forbade them to continue their journey, whatever might be the distance from Rome at which they were left, that thus the world might perceive, that external violence, and not their own free will, had caused their removal."

The Pope was gradually despoiled of his sovereignty by the insolent intruders; but though they hesitated not to commit these acts of aggression, they were unwilling that it should be known. Napoleon's soldiers were sent to drive away the Pontifical guard from the post offices, and thus every thing fell into their hands: they then employed spies, who not only possessed themselves of the contents of the despatches, but opened and read private letters—a monstrous breach of public and private faith, and of the law of nations. For a similar purpose they seized all the printing presses, so that nothing could be printed without their permission: hence, it happened, that the writings which were daily published, especially the Gazettes, were filled with flatteries towards Napoleon, and endless satires against the Pope; Pius himself

could not print his address to the cardinals, of the month of March, but was obliged to send about written copies subscribed with his own hand.

Having first lost his civil power, the Pope was now to be deprived of his military authority: they began by endeavouring to seduce the soldiery, extolling the glory of Napoleon and the felicity of his army; and they vehemently urged them to abandon the ensigns of the church, and range themselves under the Imperial banner. A few consented; the greater part refused. Incitements proving powerless, force was resorted to; on the 25th of March Miollis addressed the papal soldiers, and told them, that the Emperor was so well pleased with them, that he would not in future suffer them to receive orders either from priests or from women,—that soldiers ought to be commanded by soldiers; they might rest secure that they would never more follow the ensigns of priests; the Emperor would give them generals worthy by their courage of commanding them. These taunts were peculiarly offensive: as for the rest, though neither the Pope nor any of the

cardinals, nor any Roman lady was either general or colonel, yet there have been instances in all ages and in all countries, even in France and in the recent kingdom of Italy, of both priests and women having commanded soldiers, in the manner spoken of by Miollis; nor can aught be urged in extenuation of it. Miollis himself saw what was worse; for he saw the Princess Eliza, and Queen Caroline, of the Napoleon family, command at reviews, and order the manœuvres of the Imperial soldiers. A Colonel Frici failing in his allegiance, made his bargain with the new sovereign, and he was favoured; a Colonel Bracci refused; and he was first imprisoned and then banished: three others were sent to the prisons of the fortress of Mantua, for having kept their faith inviolate: thus did the Napoleonists esteem, and thus did they reward, the men who remained faithful to their prince and their country. The soldiers were forced to follow the ensigns of Napoleon: they were sent in the first instance to Ancona, and then to the kingdom of Italy, to be trained according to the Imperial ordinances.

The Holy Father remained in his palace with a

small guard, and that rather as a mark of honour than for defence. The Imperial troops now resolved to disturb this his last retreat, by the intrusion of foreign soldiers, not content unless the Pope were in all respects a hopeless captive. On the 7th of April they set about the mighty enterprise of taking the papal palace. The Imperial soldiers presented themselves at the gate, when the Swiss soldier on guard replied, that he could not admit the troops, but would permit the officer who commanded them to enter alone. The French commander seemed satisfied with this, ordered his brigade to halt, and entered singly; but no sooner was the wicket opened, and the officer admitted, than, adding treachery to violence, he made a sign to his men to force their way in. They entered, turning their bayonets against the Swiss, and occupied the passage; they disarmed the papal guard, breaking open the gates with a dreadful uproar, and penetrated into the most private recesses. They offered to take the captain of the Swiss guard into the pay and service of France, but he persisted in declining the offer. The same offer was made to the guards of the

treasury, and, on their refusing to accept it, they were imprisoned in the castle. In the mean time, other bodies of the Imperial troops made the circuit of the city, and arrested all of the guard of nobles whom they encountered.

The Pope complained grievously to Miollis of these excesses, but his remonstrances did not move that general; on the contrary, increasing in violence, he arrested Guidobono Cavalchini, the governor of Rome, and ordered him to be taken to Fenestrella, a fortress in the gorge of the Alps above Pinerolo, which had been built by the King of Sardinia for the defence of Italy, but was now converted by Napoleon into a prison, for those Italians who preferred loyalty to treason. They accused Cavalchini of having refused to administer justice according to the laws and customs of the country, a crime of which, if he were indeed guilty, the Pope alone and not foreigners should have judged. The French soldiers carried the prelate to the rocky caves of the dreary Fenestrella. On this the Pontiff rising above himself, remonstrated with Napoleon in a solemn and prophetic strain: "By the bowels of the mercy of

our God," he said, "of that God who causes the rising sun to visit us from on high, we exhort, we beseech, we conjure thee, Napoleon, Emperor and King, to change thy councils, to return to the sentiments which adorned thy early reign. Remember that God is king over thee; that he is no excepter of persons; that he respects not the greatness of created man. Ever remember and bear in mind, that he will manifest himself, and that quickly, in a terrific manner; and that he will judge with extreme rigour all those who have command over others."

Blind to the future, and impelled by his inevitable destiny, Napoleon hearkened not to the awful and prophetic words of the pontiff. A decree of the second of April declared, that, "as the actual Sovereign of Rome had refused to make war against the English, and to join the Kings of Italy and of Naples in the common defence of the peninsula, and that as the interests of these two realms and of the army of Italy and of Naples required that the communication should not be interrupted by an unfriendly power; seeing that the donation of Charlemagne, his

illustrious predecessor, had bestowed the pontifical states for the benefit of Christianity, and not to promote the advantage of the enemies of our holy religion; and, finally, as the ambassador of the court of Rome had demanded his passports, in order to quit Paris; the provinces of Urbino, Ancona, Macerata, and Camerino, were to be irrevocably and for ever united to his kingdom of Italy." On the 11th of May, the kingdom of Italy was to take possession of the four provinces, where the Napoleon code of laws was to be published and executed. The Viceroy was furnished with full powers to provide for the execution of the decree.

But already, even before this decree was promulgated, and even while the negociations with the Holy See were yet pending, Napoleon had not only exercised sovereign authority in the four provinces, to the manifest violation of the privileges of the Pope, but had also committed an act of real tyranny. He sent there General Lemarrois, with the title and authority of governor, who had no sooner reached Ancona than he tore down the arms of the Pope from the gate, substituting those

of the Emperor; he then changed the magistrates of the province; and even proceeded so far as to arrest and imprison Rivarola, the papal governor of Macerata.

By another decree of this same 2d of April, the Emperor, knowing how many prelates, natives of the united provinces, were at Rome, in the service of the Pope, and wishing to deprive him of the aid and support of such a numerous body of servants and friends, commanded all the cardinals, prelates, officers, and ministers of every description, natives of the kingdom of Italy, who were employed at the court of Rome, to repair to the Italian realm before the 25th of May, on pain of their goods being seized by the treasury; and those who delayed till the 5th of June were to have their property sequestrated. This edict was the more blameable, as it prevented the Pope not only from exercising his temporal authority, which the Emperor averred was that alone which he wished to annul, but also prevented the exercise of his spiritual functions; since the Pontiff of himself alone, without either counsellors or ministers, could not fulfil the duties either of his

ecclesiastical or his secular office. I pass over the cruelty of wishing, under penalty of the confiscation of goods, to deprive long tried and aged servants of the best consolations of life, of the soothing charm that embellished the dwelling which they had long inhabited, of the cheering influence of the air they had long been used to breathe. Nor can I understand the new doctrine which would deprive a blameless man of the privilege of living wherever his convenience or his pleasure might dictate, and which would oblige him to live on the spot where he was born, as if he were a mere vegetable product, a plant rooted in the soil.*

Nor was this violence put in practice only

* This is not, however, a new doctrine in Piedmont, the native country of Botta. (See the Memoirs of Alfieri.) In many of the old continental states, it was necessary to obtain the permission of the Prince even to travel for a short time; and this permission is now not unfrequently a lenient mode of exile. A Spanish grandee of our own times perceiving that he was falling into disgrace at the court of Ferdinand, demanded permission to travel for six months: "willingly," replied the minister, "if you delay your return for six years." Many of the Italian nobles of the present day are similarly situated: in this case their incomes are remitted to them.—*Tr.*

against such of the servants of the Pope as were natives of the kingdom of Italy, but the decree included those also who, although born in Rome, possessed any ecclesiastical office in that realm. On the 15th of June, some of the Imperial soldiers entered the Pontifical palace, and bursting with threats into the apartments of Cardinal Julio Gabrielli, the secretary of state, and bishop of Sinigaglia, they sealed up his portfolio, consigned it to the custody of a private soldier; and then, in the rude and familiar style of the guard-room, they ordered the Cardinal to leave Rome at the end of two days, and be gone to his see at Sinigaglia. In this manner they oppressed and drove away a native of Rome (which they had no legal right to do), a man of illustrious lineage, of acknowledged virtue, a bishop, a cardinal, the prime minister of the Pope. The presumption of the act was increased by the order having been given to him in the papal palace, in the very presence of the Pontiff himself. This violent outrage was committed by the Napoleonists against the Cardinal, because he had, in obedience to the orders of his sovereign, given instructions for the

guidance in matters of conscience for those who sought them. The Pope exclaimed against these actions as criminal, but the Imperialists disregarded his censures.

By a decree of the 20th of May, the Viceroy Eugene allotted the four provinces into the three departments, which he named the Metauro, the Musone, and the Tronto. The capital of the first was Ancona, of the second Macerata, of the third Tronto. In these united provinces they exacted oaths of allegiance to the Emperor, and of obedience to the laws and constitution. The Pope, who had not acknowledged the annexation, and who had even protested against it, would not consent to an unqualified oath of fealty to the new sovereign. Amongst the laws to which they required the people and clergy to swear obedience, was the code of Napoleon, in which, according to the opinion of the Pope, there were some articles, especially amongst the laws respecting marriage, which were contrary to the precepts of the gospel, and the decrees of general councils, particularly of the Council of Trent. Pius wrote therefore to the bishops, forbidding the

oaths to be taken without limitation, as it would be an act of treason to the legitimate government; they were to confine their promises and oaths to an engagement not to join in any act of sedition, or in any plot against the actual government, and to render it obedience in every thing that was not contrary to the laws of God and of the church. He further enjoined that no man should ever take this oath till reduced to the last necessity, or when the refusal should entail some serious peril or injury. He protested that this concession on his part did not imply the renunciation of any of his rights over his subjects, or of those other rights which were contested with him, which he desired to keep whole and intact. He further forbade any man to accept of any office or employment which should involve an acknowledgment of the usurped authority; and he finally declared his will to be, that bishops and other ecclesiastical pastors should not chaunt the spiritual canticles, especially the *Te Deum*, because it was not becoming, whilst the church was in such grievous affliction, and the victim of such violence and injustice, that any sounds of joy should be heard in the holy temples.

These orders of the Pope respecting the oaths placed the bishops in a situation of great difficulty. For, on one side, Napoleon would not relax in any thing from his resolution; and, on the other, the bishops were unwilling to transgress the commands of the supreme head of the church. Placed thus between spiritual and temporal penalties, they knew not what part to take; for, as the case stood, there were exile and confiscation on one side, and contumacy on the other. It was also worthy of consideration, that in case of their obeying the Pope, and incurring this banishment, their flocks would be deprived of spiritual aid and consolation. Napoleon, in the mean time, stormed with rage, and through the minister of the officiality, intimated that those who did not go to Milan to take the oaths, should be put under law, and their goods confiscated. The greater number obeyed the commands of the Pope, and for doing so, Cardinal Gabrielli, bishop of Sinigaglia, Capelletti, bishop of Arcolo, and Montalto, bishop of Castiglione, with several of their companions, were on the point of being taken and removed to remote districts, under the

further hardship of confiscation. Fortunately, at this conjuncture the Viceroy, sent by his father, who dreaded what might result from the resistance of the ecclesiastics, arrived to mitigate the severity of the times, and to afford them some consolation. The bishops saw the young prince, and being closetted with him, heard him applaud their conscientious scruples, and the fortitude they had displayed in refusing to act contrary to their own sense of right, and the commands of the supreme moderator of the church. He informed them that it was the intention of the Emperor to delay proceeding to extremities for some days; during which interval they should send deputies to the Holy Father, and endeavour to procure his permission to take the oaths with some modifications: the modifications admitted by the Emperor were of three sorts—first, that the bishops should be excused from going to Milan, but might take the oaths before the prefects; secondly, no other oath should be required from them than that ordained by the concordat and approved by the Pope, in which no mention was made of laws and constitutions; and thirdly,

they should be permitted, before they pronounced the oath in form, to express, as publicly as they chose, that they took it only in the direct and purely Catholic sense of the words; and thus he hoped that the government would be satisfied, and their consciences at peace. The Pope, however, would not consent to any modification; in consequence of which some of the bishops took the oaths, and amongst others the Archbishop of Urbino, at which Pius was highly indignant: the others who still refused suffered the penalties.

With regard to accepting civil employments and offices, and the administering the sacraments to those who did so, the Pope had declared, that whoever accepted employments or offices which tended to the subversion of the laws of God and the church should incur ecclesiastical censures; but offices of a different nature might be accepted on obtaining a licence from the bishop. Napoleon, however, following the dictates of his inflexible and arbitrary self-will in preference to every other consideration, commanded the bishops publicly to declare, that it was permitted by the laws of the church to serve in any employment

or office, and that to every servant of the state they would administer the sacraments. To this they refused obedience: they said, "that the Emperor declared his reasons for appropriating the provinces, and the Pope his for wishing to retain them; it was not for them to decide in so momentous a contest; yet they could not indiscriminately declare every office and employment to be legal without incurring an imputation of dishonour and prevarication. The administration of the sacraments, and especially of the absolution of sins, depended entirely on the superior authority of the Pope, and if the subordinate ranks passed the limits prescribed by him, the absolution would be null and void: such assumption would be nugatory in a mere human court of justice—it would be so in the sight of God. These were not opinions that admitted of controversy, but incontrovertible dogmas—dogmas of that religion which, by the confession of the Emperor himself, prevailed throughout the realm of Italy. That if the Pope had been despoiled of his temporal dominions on the one hand, on the other his spiritual authority remained in all its original

integrity and plenitude. To him alone belonged the power of defining, in such matters, what was lawful or unlawful; and of enlarging or restraining the jurisdiction of the inferior prelates. But although it would be schismatical and destructive of the Catholic unity publicly to contradict his judgment, they affirmed that they were ready to promote and to maintain by every means in their power the quiet of the state, without, however, wishing to arrogate to themselves a jurisdiction that did not belong to them, and which it would be at once sacrilegious and useless to attempt to exercise." Thus there arose in the four provinces a conflict between power and opinion: the arm of power was strong, opinion was inflexible. Distracted between conscience and interest, men knew not where to turn: a prison awaited him who resisted the brute force of arms; malediction pursued him who offended opinion;—discord, anguish, and perplexity prevailed on every side. Such was the condition of the Marches, once so prosperous and so happy, now prostrate in ruin and misery. As for the Pope—in protesting with so much energy against the usurpa-

tion of his sovereignty, he acted becomingly; but in other respects, he would have done well if he had imitated the prudence and the paternal forbearance of Pius the Sixth, his glorious predecessor. The inflexibility that marked his conduct was of no avail when opposed to Napoleon; and it exposed his subjects to innumerable calamities. It was his indispensible duty, as a sovereign, to protest against the usurper; and this was sufficient for the assertion of his rights; but to support with mildness and gentleness the requisition of the oaths, was also the duty of a father towards his children.

The following solemn protest was published by Pius;—

"The decree published, as it asserts, by the order of the Emperor Napoleon, which suddenly despoils us of the unconditional and absolute sovereignty of the March of Ancona—a sovereignty which, by universal consent, for more than ten centuries has been uninterruptedly enjoyed by our predecessors, has been enacted not only against us, who for so many years have suffered so many afflictions, have been buffetted

by so many storms for the sake of Him whom we have embraced with the utmost benevolence, but also against the Roman church, against the Apostolic See, against the patrimony of the prince of the apostles. Nor can we say, whether in this decree the insult of the manner or the iniquity of the act be the greater. Certainly, if in so weighty a matter we were to keep silence, it would justly be imputed to us as a neglect of our apostolical duties, and a violation of our oaths. Further, if we call to mind the motives assigned for the decree, we perceive that we are still more forcibly impelled by duty to break silence, because they are injurious to our reputation, and impugn the purity and integrity of our councils. Insult and falsehood are added to injustice. That an unarmed and peaceful prince, who not only never gave any cause of complaint to any one, but moreover to this same Emperor of the French has always given so many proofs of regard, even to the injury of his own individual interests and those of his subjects, should be despoiled of his dominions for having believed that it was not lawful for him to obey the

orders of one who required him to abandon the neutrality which he had observed with such scrupulous good faith, and to enter into a hostile league against those who had not in any manner molested or injured him, must of itself alone be esteemed the greatest injustice. If, moreover, a temporal prince who was lord of a mighty empire might have justifiable motives for refusing to join a league of offensive war, were there none such with respect to the supreme pontiff, the vicar on earth of the prime author of all peace, obliged in virtue of his supreme apostolic office, to act as the common father of all, to show an equal love to all the faithful in Christ Jesus, an equal hatred against all the enemies of religion? The decree artfully passes over in silence all that we candidly and sincerely represented to the Emperor Napoleon, and which we so often repeated both by our letters and by the mouths of our legates, as to our duties and the dictates of our conscience on this point. But his injustice proceeds yet further, since he reproaches us for declining this alliance, solely in order to avoid taking up arms against the English, who

are excluded from the Catholic communion. This is an ingenious calumny: since he well knows (although he withholds the fact) how many times we have represented to him that we could not enter into a perpetual league, lest we should bind ourselves to wage war against as many Catholic princes as his pleasure might indicate, now and for ever. We complain of the deep and offensive insult he has committed in accusing us of rejecting the alliance, in order to leave the peninsula exposed to the attacks of the enemy. He knows—and we call to judge, and to give witness of it, on all Europe, which for so many years has seen the Italian shores occupied by French soldiers; he knows—and we call to judge and to give witness of it, on the Emperor himself, although he has concealed them—whether the conditions offered by us did not permit him to place garrisons of his own troops in all our ports, and on all our shores. There is in this silence still more ingratitude than falsity, since he is well aware what injury would redound to our subjects from the closing of the ports, and what ire it would excite against us in the breasts of his enemies. But if to palliate his

usurpation, he departs as much from truth as justice, our astonishment is on the other hand indescribable, that it should not have been repugnant to his mind to have alleged the donation of Charlemagne as a pretext. We cannot imagine how the Emperor, after the lapse of ten centuries, could venture to revive, and to attribute to himself, the gift of Charlemagne, nor how the donation of Charlemagne can affect the usurped dominion of the March of Ancona.

"Seeing then for the reasons before stated, that it is clear and manifest, that an enormous crime has been committed against the Roman church, that her rights have been violated by the last decree of Napoleon, and that a yet more profound wound has been inflicted on us and on the Holy See, that it may not appear to posterity that we have merited by our silence the flagrant iniquity which has thus been committed in defiance of every law of honour and rectitude, which would be to us an eternal disgrace, a cause of perpetual reproach and detestation; we, of our own free will—of our own certain knowledge—of our own full power, solemnly declare, and in the fullest

manner protest, that the occupation of the lands which are situated in the March of Ancona, and their annexation to the kingdom of Italy, without any right or any cause, by an edict of the Emperor Napoleon, being an unjust usurpation, is null and void. We declare, moreover, and protest, that every thing from this day forth which shall be done in virtue of the said decree will be null and void also; and whatever act may be executed on the same lands by any person whatever from the present hour will be equally illegal. We further decree, and declare, that even after a thousand years, that even as long as the world shall endure, whatever may be done there, whatever designs may be formed, no man shall by any treaty or agreement infringe our rights, either as regards the possession or the sovereignty of the said lands, because they are and ought to be, in full propriety, the possession of our holy Apostolic See."

Thus Pius, although in the power of his oppressor, remonstrated with Napoleon, and protested against him. And thus Napoleon, after having imprisoned the royal family of Spain, imprisoned the Pope also; and after having

usurped the kingdom of Spain, also usurped the territory of Rome. Precisely at this moment Alexander left St. Petersburg, the seat of empire, to visit him at Erfurth; and Francis of Austria too sent General St. Vincent to that city to bear his tribute of flattery to the Emperor of the French.

CHAPTER VI.

War renewed with Austria.—The Archduke John Generalissimo of the Austrian forces, Prince Eugene, Viceroy and Generalissimo of the French forces in Italy.—Their manifestoes to the Italians.—The Archduke, successful at Sacile, advances towards Verona.—General rising of the Tyrolese against the French and Bavarians.—Character of Andrew Hoffer.—Peculiar nature of the Tyrolese war.—Austria totally defeated, first near Ratisbon, then at Wagram.—The Archduke retires from Italy.—Peace between France and Austria.—Marriage of the Archduchess Maria Louisa to Napoleon.—End of the Tyrolese war.—Death of Hoffer.—Napoleon unites Rome to France, and sends the Pope prisoner to Savona.—The Pope excommunicates him.—Description of Rome under the French, and the undertakings carried on there—Explanation of the Propaganda.—Practises of Caroline of Sicily with Napoleon.—Unfortunate expedition of Joachim to Sicily.—General Manhes sent to reduce Calabria.—Succeeds, and by what means.

THE embers were yet glowing which were again to set Europe in flames. Austria, depressed by the conqueror, watched for an opportunity of rising against him in renewed vigour, and endea-

voured to alleviate the sense of her present misfortunes by her hopes for the future. Nor was she rendered uneasy by the peace of Presburg alone, which had so greatly diminished her power, but felt alarm also at the changes made by Napoleon, not only in other parts of Europe, but in the heart of Germany, and on the very frontiers of her own territory. She was as much alarmed by the secret proffers, as by the open attacks of Napoleon, for he had offered her an increase of territory to arise from the destruction of a neighbouring and a friendly state, from which she feared that another change of circumstances, or a further alteration in his plans, might prompt him to sacrifice her, too, in turn, to the aggrandisement of some other power; but the power of Napoleon so greatly preponderated by the subjugation of Prussia, and the friendship of Russia, that she had at that time no chance of recovering herself. Resolving, therefore, to abide the progress of time, and to bear her present humiliation in silence, in order to avoid yet greater misfortunes, she delayed to act until the violent proceedings of Napoleon should open to her some effectual means of restraining his ambition, and

securing her own safety. The iniquitous acts committed against the royal family of Spain, which had so strongly excited the indignation of the Spaniards, and which had obliged the master of France to send a numerous army to subdue them, seemed to afford the wished for opportunity, and one not to be neglected. Accordingly, the Emperor of Austria resolved to enter anew into the contest, undismayed at the prospect of conducting it without allies, and gave orders to arm and discipline the whole population of his dominions capable of bearing arms, and to furnish the artillery in the best manner, both as to the numbers and the choice of men to serve in it. Napoleon complained of these formidable preparations, affirming that he had no intention of quarrelling with the Emperor of Austria;—to which Francis replied, that his preparations were merely defensive. Napoleon then complained of the Austrian ministry, or of some military faction at Vienna, in the pay of England. He arrogantly reproached Francis, with the obligation he owed him for having preserved the integrity of the Austrian monarchy, when it was in his

power to have partitioned it. He renewed his professions of friendship, and exhorted him to desist from his warlike preparations. The Emperor, however, would not consent to leave himself defenceless at the mercy of him who had fraudulently imprisoned the royal family of Spain. The confederation of the Rhine, the dissolution of the German empire, Vienna deprived of its strongest rampart by the subjection of Bavaria, Ferdinand driven from Naples, his throne occupied by one of the Napoleon family, Holland by another, Parma added, Tuscany united to his empire, the occupation of papal Rome, gave just cause to Austria to have recourse to arms; she having no other alternative but war or slavery. Opportunity alone had been wanting; the Spanish war, which occupied Napoleon, afforded this, and she resolved to avail herself of it: foreseeing that this would be her last struggle, she made the most formidable preparations. A powerful army was commanded by the Archduke Charles, in Germany, and was destined to invade Bavaria, which persevered in its alliance with Napoleon. If this first enterprise should succeed, it was the

intention of the Archduke to cross the Black Forest, and draw the campaign to the banks of the Rhine. In aid of this force, Bellegarde, an experienced commander, was stationed with a large body in Bohemia, ready to pour into Franconia, as soon as the occurrences of the war should require it. Great hopes had been formed by the Emperor Francis, from the rising of the Tyrolese, who were much attached to his name, and were desirous of shaking off the dominion of Bavaria. This movement was of the utmost importance, as well from the warlike nature of the people, as from the situation of the Tyrol, which kept open the road of communication between the two armies of Germany and Italy. In this great plan the affairs of Italy were carefully considered, and a numerous body of troops, chiefly cavalry, was sent thither under the Archduke John, a youth of mild disposition, and much esteemed by the Italians. John, who was at first encamped in the passes of Carniola and Carinthia, prepared to defile by Tarvisio and Ponteba, on the Venetian territories. Stationed on the extreme of the grand front, he co-operated in the general

plan, not only with the regular troops under his command, but with the militia of the district of Giula Croatia, and in Carniola, provinces in which he had many dependencies. This formidable force was necessary to keep in check Marmont, who occupied Dalmatia with a detachment of French troops. Considering that public opinion is ever the main sinew of war, Francis had stimulated his subjects by every exciting motive; their country—their independence—their past glory—their present unhappy condition—a yet more cruel yoke prepared for the future, were all forcibly represented to them in his manifestoes. The Austrian name was again proclaimed, and the people voluntarily joined in the common defence; bands of armed peasants were found in every spot where their assistance might be required: wonderful was the commotion; nor ever had the fortunes of Austria seemed more promising, for never had she made such formidable preparations.

Napoleon's forces might be considered equal, but certainly they were not superior. He endeavoured to temporize, appealing to Russia as a

guarantee for pacific measures. Ever skilful and astute, he was not to be deceived as to the intentions of the rival power, and being certified of her enmity, which seemed unalterable, he prepared for the contest by sending into Germany and Italy as many soldiers as he could spare from the war beyond the Pyrenees. Francis, however, who had long been providing for the campaign, was better armed and better prepared for combat. Napoleon resolved to conduct the campaign in Germany in person, because he knew that the fate of the war would be decided on the banks of the Danube, and knew also that he alone was able to compete as a general with the Archduke Charles. As to Italy, he gave the conduct of the war in that important quarter to Eugene, sending Macdonald with him as his adviser and counsellor. Napoleon's Italian army was stationed in Friuli, the front occupying the right towards the sea-shore, by Palmanova, Cividale, and Udine; and on the left extending towards mounts St. Daniel, Osopo, Gemona, Ospedaletto, and the Venetian Ponteba, as far as the road leading to Tarvisio. The other brigades were placed as

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rear guards at Pordenone, Sacile, and Conegliano, on the banks of the Livenza. Another body, communicating in two different places with the first, principally composed of Italian soldiers paid by the kingdom of Italy, was stationed in the Paduan, the Trevisan, the Bassanese, and the Feltrinese territories. From Brescia and Tuscany fresh squadrons marched to augment the principal army. Italy and Germany, in fearful agitation, anticipated a change of fortune.

The Archduke Charles sent to inform the French general that it was his intention to pass on, and force his passage against all opposition. On the 9th of April, the Archduke John in the same manner proclaimed the war to Broussier, who, with the advanced guard, defended the passes of the vale of Fella, by which the gorges of Tarvisio are commanded, and the pass to Villaco in Carinthia is gained. The armies being prepared for combat, manifestoes were next put forth. The Viceroy Eugene, addressing the people of the kingdom of Italy, declared, that the war had been sought by Austria alone. "In a few hours he must be far from them on his way

to combat the enemies of his august father, the enemies of France, and of Italy. He trusted that they would preserve in his absence that excellent spirit of which they had given heretofore such signal proof, and that the magistrates would do their duty honestly, showing themselves at once worthy of their sovereign and of the Italian people. Wheresoever he himself might be, he should always feel for their unchangeable gratitude and indulgent affection."

On his side, too, the Archduke John, before he drew his sword, was not sparing of addresses to the army, hoping to excite throughout Italy movements of importance in his favour, from the differing opinions of the people.

"Hear!" he said, "Italians, hear! and engrave on your hearts what truth and reason demand of you. You are the slaves of France; for her your wealth, for her your lives, are sacrificed. The conscription, the heavy imposts, the oppressions you suffer under, sufficiently prove, that no political existence—no vestige of independence, is left to you. In such deep subjection you cannot be respected, you cannot enjoy tranquillity; nay,

you cannot even justly claim the name of Italians. Would you assert your birthrights once more? then with heart and hand join the generous soldiers of the Emperor Francis. He sends a mighty army into Italy; yet he is not excited thus to act by the desire of conquest: he only seeks his own safety—he seeks to restore the independence of so many European nations, whose servitude is as evident as it is cruel. If God will but second the virtuous endeavours of the Emperor Francis and of his potent allies, Italy may again be happy in herself—again be respected by others. The head of the church will again possess his own states—be once more restored to liberty. A constitution suited to the nature of the Italian provinces, to their true political state, will be given to promote their prosperity, and to secure them from every insult inflicted by foreign power. Francis promises you a happy destiny; Europe knows his faith to be as immutable as it is pure. Heaven, however, speaks to you through him. Hasten, Italians, hasten, whosoever you are, by whatever name you are called, whatever party you espouse, provided that you are in truth;

Italians, come without fear to us. It is not to demand what you have, but to succour you, to liberate you, that we have approached the Italian territory. Can you consent to remain as you now are, base and dishonoured? Will you be inferior to the Spaniards, a heroic people, whose deeds have been even more noble than their declarations? Do you love your children, your religion, your honour, and the glory of your nation less than the people of Spain? Do you feel less abhorrence of the shameful yoke those have imposed on you, who have deluded you by soft words, and have afflicted you by harsh deeds? Know, Italians, and be the truths we now declare engraved on your minds, that this is the last opportunity you will have of asserting your liberty, of freeing your necks from the heavy yoke which oppresses all Italy. If now you do not exert yourselves—if you still remain mere careless spectators, you run the risk, whichever of the two armies may obtain the victory, of being treated as a conquered people, without a name, without rights. If, on the contrary, with courageous hearts, you resolve to join the forces

of your liberators, and march on with them to victory, Italy will gain a new existence—she will obtain her proper rank amidst the great kingdoms of the world, and will, perhaps, rise again to be as she once was—the first of nations. Italians! a happier lot than your present is now placed in your hands—in those hands which in older times held on high the light of learning, of civilization, and of the arts; which regained the world from barbarism, and rendered it gentle, mild, and polished. Milanese, Tuscans, Piedmontese, Italians of every race, reflect on the past, reflect on your ancient glory. Such times and such glory may yet return; they may even return with greater prosperity, greater lustre, if you prefer general co-operation to listless expectation. Your determination may ensure victory, it may render you even more glorious than your ancesters were ever in the days of their greatest splendour."

In this manner did the Archduke John seek to stimulate the Italians, by representing to them that they need not despair of redeeming their country from an ignominious and perpetual servi-

tude. But his exhortations produced little effect, because those who were armed were all, as soldiers, partisans of Napoleon, and those who were unarmed, although they hated the French domination, did not therefore approve of that of Austria; nor was it clear to them that victory to Austria would give liberty to Italy. They were alarmed, moreover, by the yet recent affair of Ulm; nor did it appear that any differences were likely to arise between Napoleon and Alexander, from which alone well-founded hopes of success might have been formed.

On the 10th of April the weight of the German mass was precipitated on Italy. The Archduke having crossed the summits of the mountains at the pass of Tarvisio, and accomplished that of the Chiusa, drew near—though not without some difficulty from the resistance of the French, to the Tagliamento. He then passed the Isonzo with an abundant equipment of artillery and cavalry, and menaced with his whole force the front of Eugene's army. A fierce encounter took place at the bridge of Dignano, where Broussier fought valiantly; but the Austrian force conti-

nually increasing on the lower ground, as they had passed the Isonzo, Broussier, by the order of the Viceroy, retired to the right; and the danger increasing, the Prince repaired to Sacile, on the Livenza, in order to assemble all the squadrons in this spot, as well those who were stationed in the rear as those who were marching from the Trevisan and Paduan territory. The Germans laid siege to the fortresses of Osopo and Palmanova. Eugene having assembled all his forces, except the divisions who were marching from the upper part of the kingdom of Italy and Tuscany, resolved to attack the enemy before his main body should be joined by the other squadrons near at hand. This resolution of the Prince deserves to be rather blamed than praised; since, although the Archduke had not assembled all his forces, he was much superior in numbers; and not only was the issue doubtful, but it was to be feared that the Austrians would have the advantage; and if it were desirable for the Archduke, as commanding the greater force, to give battle, it was consequently the interest of the Prince to avoid an action. In this case Eugene should rather have been guided by prudence than impelled by courage.

The French were disposed in the neighbourhood of Sacile, so that Seras and Severoli occupied the plain on the right, Grenier and Barbou in the centre, Broussier to the left. The infantry and cavalry of the Italian kingdom formed a great proportion of the right wing, which was the first engaged with the Germans: the action took place on the 16th of April. The village of Palsi was the scene of a severe contest, from whence both parties were several times driven, after having successively carried it. The valour of the Italian soldiers was conspicuous, notwithstanding that Palsi was finally taken by the Archduke. Already the Germans, who were formidable on their left from the great number of their cavalry, pressed on. The French right wing suffered severely; Seras and Severoli were hard pressed, and were exposed to such danger that they could scarcely have escaped entire discomfiture, if Barbou had not reinforced them from the centre. This succour giving fresh animation to Seras, he pushed forward with so much spirit, that, gaining possession of the field, he not only drove the enemy out of Palsi, but even from Porcia, where their chief station was

established. The Archduke having perceived that the centre of the French was much weakened in consequence of the detachments being sent to Seras, now bore down on it, and had well nigh entirely broken it; but at this critical moment Broussier joined the battle, and inspired with fresh courage the troops who had been manifestly giving way: Barbou also defended himself with great spirit. The Archduke then urged on all his battalions. The engagement became general on the whole front: the combat was long, firm, and sanguinary; the Germans having the superiority in number and in steadiness, the French excelling them in enthusiasm and daring valour. The recovery of Porcia was the chief object of the Austrians; but notwithstanding all their endeavours, this they were unable to accomplish. In this obstinate combat the courage of Colonel Giflenga, who led a squadron of Italian cavalry against the enemy, was highly distinguished. General Teste, an officer remarkable for bravery, was seriously wounded. The battle had already lasted seven hours without seeming to incline to either side, when at length, the Archduke,

continually reinforcing his front with fresh troops, forced the enemy to give way, after having disordered some of their battalions and killed many of their numbers. The French cavalry suffered most; the division of Broussier also suffered severely; for, serving as a rear-guard to the other half-broken and retreating squadrons, it had to support the impetus of the victorious enemy. If the approach of night had not stopped the pursuit, the French and Italians would have sustained a still more serious injury. In this battle of Sacile the Viceroy lost about 2,500 killed, wounded, and prisoners; the Archduke not more than 500. After this unlucky encounter, Sacile was no longer a safe station for Eugene; he therefore retreated, and was but feebly pursued by the Germans, who are always tardy in following up their advantages, and consequently neglected to profit by many favourable opportunities on the banks of the Adige. Here Eugene was joined by the division under Lamarque, which had been stationed in the Veronese, and that under Durutte from Tuscany. Nor was the arrival of Macdonald of slight importance in

reviving the spirits of the troops. Eugene received him with apparent pleasure; his mind, however, was but ill satisfied on the occasion, as he knew that the credit of every successful enterprize would be transferred from him to Macdonald. The Archduke crossed the Piave and the Brenta, and inundated the Paduan, Trevisan, and Vicentine districts; while, in the mean time, he attacked Palmanova, but with little effect. With no greater success did he assault with a large body of troops the fortifications of Malghera, in order to open the road to the Lagunes of Venice. Notwithstanding these failures, he prepared to attack the enemy on the banks of the Adige, hoping to come out by Upper Lombardy, the ancient dominion of his ancestors. He did not find in this conquered region the partisans he had expected. There was a movement in Padua, but one of little importance. The inhabitants of Crespino, in the Polesina, also, unfortunately for themselves, rose in arms; for when Napoleon returned victorious from Germany, his ire was so strongly excited against them, that he placed them under martial law, and condemned

them to the punishment of the bastonade for the offence. They besought his pardon; he replied, that pardon must be purchased by blood, and demanded four of their number as victims; but through the mediation of the Viceroy, who strove to mollify the Emperor, two only were executed, and their lives purchased the indemnity of their country.

In the mean time the Archduke Charles having crossed the river Inn, occupied Bavaria, and with the main body marched towards the Rhine. Every thing at this period seemed to favour the fortunes of the Emperor Francis, and above all other circumstances the rising in the Tyrol. Great discontent had lurked in the minds of this brave and virtuous people: long accustomed to the mild sway of the house of Austria, they unwillingly endured the government of the Bavarians as an innovation, and which, if not by ancient habits, at least in the spirit of some recent acts, and perhaps also by the commands of Napoleon, was at that time rough and arbitrary. Besides, the King of Bavaria had abolished the ancient constitution of the Tyrol, reducing its political state to a mere

arbitrary government, even with respect to the imposts. They all, agreed, therefore, some secretly, and some openly, to support to the utmost the cause of their ancient sovereign. Austria had encouraged these resolutions by sending Jellacheick to the Tyrol, by the mountains of Saltzburg, with a body of regular troops.

The same day on which the Archduke Charles passed the Inn, and the Archduke John the defiles of Tarvisio, the Tyrolese, impelled by one mind, animated by one common zeal, rose suddenly in arms, and fell on the French and Bavarian troops that were placed in garrison throughout their country. They elected as their leader Andrew Hofer, an innkeeper of Sand, in the valley of Passeira. Hofer had no one pre-eminent quality, that is, none such as the world prizes; but he was a man of upright mind and incorruptible virtue. Having lived always in the seclusion of the Tyrolese mountains, he was unacquainted with vice and its allurements. The most eminent and highly-gifted amongst the Parisians and the Milanese had been seduced by the flatteries of Napoleon: Hofer, a poor inhabitant of the mountains,

preserved his integrity. Two pious affections generally accompany each other in men so situated—the love of God and of their country: both were powerfully felt by Andrew; for which reason the Tyrolese held him in singular affection and esteem. Devoid of ambition, he was solicited to exercise that authority which he did not seek. Of the mildest nature, he was never cruel in war, nor captious in peace, but was equally content whether serving his prince or his family. He saw the insolence of the conqueror, he saw the burning of peaceful cottages, he saw the cruel injuries, the slaughter of his kindred: yet his bland and equable temper suffered no change. Terrible in battle, merciful to the conquered, he allowed none whom the fate of war gave into his power to suffer death. The wounded he gave in charge to the Tyrolese women, who, both from humanity, and from respect to Hofer, rendered them every hospitable service. Napoleon devastated the country of others, unfeeling even to his friends—Hofer defended his own, gentle even towards those who were preparing for it desolation and death. Willingly do I leave the illustrious writers of our de-

graded age to praise the guilty deeds of the powerful; but I trust that it will not be denied to me, to indulge myself, by recounting, though in low and humble style, the generous efforts of those who were more favoured by virtue than by fortune.

The whole Tyrolese nation, attached to their ancient prince and hating their new government, women as well as men, the children and the aged, being organized and led on by Hofer, rose in arms, and gathering from the most profound vallies and the steepest mountains, rushed with sudden impetus against the Bavarians and the French. The former, overpowered by this popular tumult at Sterching, at Inspruck, at Hall, and the Convent of San Carlo, were unable to make any effectual resistance; and having lost great numbers in killed and wounded, they laid down their arms, and about ten thousand surrendered to the victors. No better fortune attended another corps of three thousand French and Bavarians, who came to succour their comrades under the walls of Wildau; each successive squadron that defiled into these regions being overpowered by the in-

surgents. No place, no hour, was secure from their attacks; for on every side, by night or by day, the Tyrolese issuing from their hidden recesses, and passing by secret paths known only to those who were intimately acquainted with the country, subdued the unprepared Napoleonists by their rapid sorties. It was a singular and fearful warfare: together with the clangor of arms was mixed the sound of the church bells, which the hammer unceasingly struck, and the cry of the peasants, which knew no pause, calling incessantly on "*the name of God and the most holy Trinity!*" All these sounds, united and reverberated from the echoing mountains, produced an effect full of horror, of awe, and of devotion. It was the voice of a holy and an injured country.

Some with carbines pierced from afar the bodies of the invaders, some assailed them with stones, some crushed them with enormous masses hurled from the heights; Hofer with composed air, his firm and lofty stature towering above his followers, and distinguished from them by that alone; for his dress was in every respect like theirs, appeared now inciting their ardour against

the armed soldier, now restraining their rage against the disarmed; at once the fierce destroyer of those who resisted, and the generous protector of those who submitted. Wherever and whenever he appeared, unanimous became the will to fight, unanimous the decision to spare. The simple authority of his name had greater power over those martial spirits than habits of discipline or the dread of military punishment usually exercise over organized troops. Children acted like adults, the old with the energy of youth; women displayed the courage of men, and the men became heroes; nor was a more just and honourable cause ever defended by a more unanimous and firm accord.

A considerable number of the defeated enemy were marched by the road of Saltzburg towards the heart of Austria, a grateful spectacle to the Emperor Francis. The Tyrolese, victorious on the German soil, passed the heights of Brenner, and appeared on the Italian territory, spreading terror through the regions above Trent. The alarm spread from valley to valley, from hill to hill, and Trent itself was in peril. Certain it was, that by the time the Archduke John could

have reached the shores of the Adige, the Tyrolese might have been able to descend to support him in the rear. This movement would have produced results of the utmost consequence to all Italy. This was the design of the Austrian generals. The Emperor Francis, as well to aid the zeal of the insurgents, as to demonstrate that he had not forgotten a population so affectionately attached to him, sent Chasteler into the Tyrol (a general who for skill and courage ranked amongst the best of the age), that he might advise Hofer as to the conduct of the war. The Emperor had also sent, as we have already noticed, a body of regular troops, accustomed to mountain warfare, under Jellacheick, an expert commander, and one well acquainted with the country. At the sight of the first standards and troops of Austria, the Tyrolese were transported with joy: the Imperialists entered in triumph; such were the demonstrations of gladness with which the people surrounded them. The church bells rang peals of joy; the artillery and musketry saluted them in turn; the conquering multitude hailed them with shouts of applause, embracing them, and

proffering the daintiest viands their mountains afforded for the refreshment of the Austrian soldiers.

Here ended the prosperity of Austria; for at the very acmé of her best hopes, the fatal Napoleon reached the German soil, raised his hand to the war, and in a few days gained the three great battles of Taun, Abensberg, and Eckmuhl. By these events the Archduke Charles was constrained to retire to the left of the Danube, thus leaving open to Napoleon the road to Vienna on the right. Another momentous result proceeded from the defeat of the Archduke, which was, that Napoleon's advance on the road to Vienna made it necessary for the Archduke John to withdraw from Italy, lest his retreat into Austria should be cut off; and thus not only Italy itself was lost to him, but the Tyrol. Thus the victories gained by the Emperor of the French between Augsburgh and Ratisbon reversed the condition of the war. The assailants were forced to defend themselves; those who had been attacked became in turn the assailants; Italy was lost to Austria, Vienna was in danger, and no hope remained to those who

had provoked the war except in the resources Hungary, Moravia, and Bohemia might yet afford.

When the news of the discomfiture of his brother reached the Archduke John, he became aware that it was no longer advisable to trifle in Italy, and he had also orders from Vienna to the same effect, commanding him to hasten to the defence of the monarchy in its most vital parts. He, therefore, arranged his army, which had already advanced beyond Vicenza, for a retreat, determining to make no further resistance, except in some of the fortified places, in order to bring off his artillery, ammunition, and baggage; a difficult and dangerous operation, whilst so prompt and watchful an enemy was in front. The Archduke retired; Eugene pursued him; some delay arose at the Brenta, on account of the bridges being broken down. The Austrians halted on the banks of the Piave, resolving to contest the passage: they were in a strong position, extending on the right towards the bridge of Priuli, which the Archduke had purposely burnt, and on the left to Rocca di Strada, on the road leading to Conegliano. A numerous

train of artillery strengthened his front, which occupied the eminences in face of the river, whilst the low grounds were secured by some brigades of cavalry. The French prepared to cross at Lovadina, which is the principal passage: and although the Germans kept up a tremendous fire from the artillery on the heights, Dessaix succeeded in this attempt. The Viceroy, then, with the greater part of the army, crossed above and below Lovadina, and immediately formed the troops in line, under the very line of fire of the enemy, who annoyed them also with musquetry and unceasing charges of cavalry. The combat was equal, and was conducted with the greatest fury on both sides; the French striving to dislodge the Austrians from the heights, the Austrians endeavouring to force them back into the river. Neither the Prince nor the Archduke spared themselves in this terrible affair, either as to fatigue or danger; now commanding as captains, now combating like the common soldier. The conflict took place between the Piave and Conegliano. Deep ditches strengthened the Austrian front: the French charged them home,

Abbé on the right, Broussier in the centre, and Lamarque on the left; Pully, Grouchy, and Giflenga, assisted their operations. After an obstinate contest, the Archduke was compelled to give way, and fortune declared herself in favour of the Prince. The mill of Capanna was yet to be gained, where the Germans obstinately defended themselves; and Lamarque, aided by Darutte, rapidly passed over the fosses, and by a bayonet charge finally possessed himself of this strong position. The French were now every where masters of the field. The Austrians retired in some disorder to Conegliano, and then, as the enemy quickly followed up the pursuit, to Sacile. In this great battle, the Germans suffered severely, their losses in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounting to about ten thousand men; and Generals Wolskell, Rissner, and Hager, were taken or killed; they lost fifteen cannon, thirty chests, much ammunition and baggage. The loss of the French was about three thousand. The chief honour in this affair, on the part of the French, was due, after the Prince, to Dessaix and Pully. On the Austrian side, after the Archduke,

Wolskell most distinguished himself; but he died a few days after of his wounds, to the extreme regret of his companions, who justly esteemed him as a brave and experienced general. The Archduke continued to retreat, the Prince to pursue him. Eugene effected the passage of the Livenza easily, that of the Tagliamento with difficulty. He filled the plain and the valleys with his cavalry, and raised the siege of Osopo and Palmanova. His army he divided into two parts, sending the first towards the pass of Tarvisio, in Carinthia; the second, under Macdonald, towards Carniola. His intention was to occupy Carinthia and Stiria; to drive the enemy into the recesses of Hungary; and so joining the army of Napoleon in Germany, to advance with it to Subiana, and thus co-operate with Marmont, who was marching hastily from Dalmatia. This plan succeeded in both its parts; for Dessaix and Seras keeping amongst the mountains, and chasing the Germans through the valleys of Ponteba, Pradele, Fella, and Dogna, approached at last the highest summit that lies between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. The first obstacles they encountered were the fortresses of Malborghetto

and, Pradele. Seras endeavoured to bribe the commandant of Malborghetto to deliver up the fortress, but the German rejected the vile overture, and valiantly defended his trust: exhorting the garrison to fulfil their duty, and aid in the salvation of their country, he terminated an honourable life by a glorious death. I regret that I know not the name of this virtuous Austrian; for it would have been a satisfaction to me to have sent it down to posterity inscribed in this narrative. At length, however, Seras took the two fortresses. The Viceroy carried the pass of Tarvisio, entered victoriously into Carinthia, and marched towards Judenburg in Stiria. Jellacheick, driven from the Tyrol by Marshal Lefevre, who had been sent there by Napoleon after the victory of Ratisbon, lost almost all his troops at St. Michael, in Stiria. Seras having passed the mountains of Sommering, and reaching Schottwein, formed a junction with the outposts of the French army of Germany.

Whilst these occurrences took place on the left of the Viceroy, Macdonald, passing by Manfalcone and Duino, had occupied Trieste; thence he had marched towards Carniola, in order to

take Lubiana, the capital, and to co-operate with Marmont. From Lubiana he intended to proceed by the high road to Gratz; and from this last place he expected to be able to furnish reinforcements to Napoleon himself. The Archduke Charles was still in great force. Macdonald found much difficulty in reducing Prevald; but, by an assault both in front and rear, finally succeeded in taking it. By the same manœuvre he forced four thousand Austrians garrisoning Lubiana to surrender, and entered the city in triumph. After this glorious achievement he marched on to Gratz, having sufficient troops behind him to occupy Carniola: there he halted to await the arrival of Marmont from Dalmatia. As soon as the latter heard that the Archduke John, constrained by the turn affairs had taken in Germany, had moved from the Vicentine to effect his retreat from Italy, he set out for Dalmatia, in order to co-operate with the main army in more important objects. He, therefore, immediately left Zara, and defeating the Germans, who strove to contest the passes of the mounts Chitta and Gracazzo, he approached the territory of

Gospizza, which was strong in point of situation, surrounded by many streams, and numerously garrisoned, chiefly by Croatians. The contest was severe, not only in a regular battle which took place, but in partial actions between detached parties; finally, however, after much bloodshed, the French obtained the mastery. The victory of Gospizza opened the road to the French general, and he met with no further opposition with the exception of a single skirmish with the rear guard of the enemy at Otossa. He then successively occupied Segra and Fiume, and finding his countrymen in Istria, he reached Gratz by forced marches: in this manner the whole of ancient Illyria fell into the hands of the French. The Viceroy having only sufficient detachments to garrison the most important places, passed the mountains of Sommering with the main force: descending towards the Danube by the valley of Arabone, which the moderns call Raab, he hastened to participate in the enterprises of his father.

Napoleon's usual style of bombast appeared in the proclamation he addressed to the army of

the Viceroy: "Welcome soldiers of the Italian army! Surprised by a treacherous enemy before your columns were united, you retired to the shores of the Adige; but when I commanded your advance, and reminded you of the plains of Arcole, you gained twenty battles, took 25,000 prisoners, 600 cannon, and ten standards; neither the Save, nor the Drave, nor the Mura, nor the defiles of Tarvisio, nor the steep summits of the Sommering, arrested your progress. That same Jellacheick, the prime mover of the slaughter of our companions in the Tyrol, has proved the force of your bayonets. You have executed speedy justice on the routed fragments that fled from the wrath of the grand army! Well have you done, and welcome are ye, soldiers! ye who have defeated, dispersed, annihilated, those Austrian invaders of Italy, who, for a brief space contaminated my provinces with their presence; and made them confess the truth of our motto, '*God gave it me; woe to him who touches it.*' Soldiers! I am satisfied with you." At these arrogant words of Napoleon, wise and temperate men shrugged their shoulders,

and would, even from regard to his own greatness, have desired more moderation; but Napoleon knew not the greatness there is in modesty.

On the 14th of June, the anniversary of the victory of Marengo, Eugene Beauharnois gained a great battle under the walls of Raab, against the Archduke John, who was ascending the banks of the Danube, in aid of his brother Charles. This engagement was well and skilfully fought by the Viceroy; nor will I defraud the Archduke of his due meed of praise, who, in the midst of such great agitation, such fearful apprehensions, and such precipitous ruin to Austria, had preserved both his self-command and the discipline of his troops: he fought valiantly with the rear guard, kept the van guard in close order, and after so many combats, and a retreat over so great an extent of ground, re-appeared stronger than ever in the fields of Raab; and but for the celerity of the Viceroy's movements, he might, perhaps, have changed to triumphs the melancholy reverses of his august brother. I take delight in speaking of Eugene and of John, both

alike young; and, if matched in years, they were also equals in valour. But John, from the temper of his house, was more unassuming; Eugene, spurred on by his father, was more vainglorious: the one worthy to defend his own country, the other worthy to have been spared from desolating the country of another.

On the 6th of July the Austrian host perished on the field of Wagram: there was the Archduke Charles overthrown. Napoleon became master of this ancient and powerful monarchy. Peace is easily made when one party lies prostrate: the Emperor Francis accepted the hardest conditions; he even consented—the safety of the state overcoming all his other feelings, to one harder than all the rest, that of giving his daughter Maria Louisa in marriage to him who was the ruin of his house, and who before and during the war had heaped on him every vituperative epithet. On the 14th of October the treaty was concluded at Vienna, on the part of Napoleon by De Champagny, on that of Francis by Prince Lichtenstein. The Emperor Francis ceded to the Emperor Napoleon, besides many other

districts in Germany and in Poland, the country of Goritz, the territory of Monfalcone, the country of Trieste, the Duchy of Carniola, with its dependencies in the Gulf of Trieste; the circle of Villaco, in Carinthia, especially a part of provincial Croatia; six districts of military Croatia and St. Veit, with all the other territories on the right of the Save, from the point where that river issues from Carniola till it reaches the frontiers of Bosnia, and the confines of Hungary; Austrian Istria, with the districts of Castua, Picino, Buccari, Buccarizza, Porto Re, Segua, with the islands dependent on the ceded territories, and all other dependencies situated on the right of the river, the course of whose stream was to mark the limits of the two states. Pardon was promised by Napoleon to the Tyrolese, and by Francis to the Poles. Austria agreed to give up all connection with England. Napoleon, always intent on destroying the reputation of his friends, in order afterwards to deprive them of their states, inserted a clause in the treaty by which Austria bound herself to cede to Alexander of Russia, who had been, in defiance of all prudence, an idle

spectator of the war, a territory on the eastern side of ancient Galicia, containing 400,000 souls, not, however, including the city of Brodi. Alexander consented to this clause, and accepted the spoils of his friend, who therein suffered a serious injury. Austria, being compelled to grant this stipulation by superior power, deserved no blame on that account. Posterity will decide, whether he who commanded the spoliation or he who consented to profit by it, merited the greater condemnation. Such were the consequences of the war Austria had entered into, the result of the immense preparations she had made; such was the peace she was reduced to sign. The domination of Napoleon was now more absolute than ever throughout Europe.

Austria, unnerved by misfortune, was at least tranquilized by the peace; but her calm was the stillness of helpless suffering. Besides the loss of her power, she was goaded by the insolence of the victor, and heavily oppressed by the weight of contribution. The Tyrolese alone withstood the general terror, and with arms in their hands continued to defend that sovereign who had

thrown down his, and had yielded up many of the noblest parts of his own dominions and theirs also to the conqueror. Prince Eugene, from his quarters at Villaco, exhorted them, but in vain, to lay down their arms. Frequently engaged with the French, the Saxons, and the Bavarians, they were often successful, more often defeated, and as often rose again. If vanquished, they retired to their impenetrable woods and inaccessible mountains; if victors, they poured through the vallies and impetuously pursued the enemy. If defeated, they were cruelly treated by the foe; if successful, they treated them with humanity: as became a religious people, in their reverses they devoutly implored from Heaven a change of fortune, and in their hour of triumph, offered up their pious thanksgivings with equal fervour. After having by incredible valour defeated the troops of Lefevre, and restored to liberty those who had surrendered, they were seen, whilst their blood was yet flowing, whilst they were still surrounded by the lifeless bodies of their companions and their assailants, to throw themselves with one consent on their knees, at a signal given by

Hofer, and in this pious attitude, at once mourning and rejoicing, returned thanks to God for the victory. The mountains re-echoed with the devout strains of joyful praise poured forth from their religious and valiant breasts. At length, fresh invaders continually replacing the fallen, the Tyrolese, abandoned by all the world, nay, with seemingly all the world in league against them, lost not the will, but the power of further resistance, and taking refuge in the recesses of the mountains, awaited some occasion in which virtue might prevail against power. The German Tyrol returned to the dominion of Bavaria; the Italian was ceded to the kingdom of Italy.

At the end of the present year, Andrew Hofer retired with all his family to a poor hut amongst the hills and amidst the deepest snows, grieving for his country, but tranquil as to his own fate. Napoleon, however, thirsted for his blood. He was, accordingly, sought after with the utmost diligence, till he was at last traced to his secret retreat. The Imperial soldiers knocked at his cottage door (it was the night of the 27th of January, 1810); Hofer opened it, and

seeing the force that surrounded it, he said simply, with unmoved composure—"I am Andrew Hofer; I am in the power of France; do with *me* as you will, but spare my wife and my children: they are innocent, they are not answerable for my actions." With these words he gave himself up to the soldiers. There was with him a young man in the flower of youth, the son of a physician at Gratz, who also yielded himself up at the same time, for he had dedicated himself to Hofer in life and death; such was the virtue of the Tyrolese. Conducted to Bolzano, his wife and one son, yet in his boyhood, accompanied him: the last separation was impending over them. The boy was left at Bolzano, the mother was sent to Passeira, to take charge of three other children still in infancy, whose father, now a prisoner, was soon to suffer death. Their tender age rendered them ignorant of their misfortunes, an unconsciousness on their part that so much the more excited compassion. Both in the German and the Italian Tyrol the afflicted populace ran in crowds wherever Hofer passed in bonds, raising their eyes to heaven in grief, weeping,

lamenting, and pouring forth benedictions on their beloved and ill-fated chief. It was at Mantua that the balls of the soldiers pierced the patriotic bosom of Andrew Hofer, who in his last moments showed himself not only intrepid but tranquil. The perverted age calumniated him; he was called a brigand, he was called an assassin; and, if praise be a stimulus to virtue, the thought of the fate of Hofer is both lamentable and disheartening.

On the signal defeat of Austria, Napoleon threw aside all dissimulation, and submitted to no further restraint. Long covetous of Rome, the desire of appropriating the papal states returned to his mind with fresh force. At the commencement of the war, Austria had talked of liberating and restoring the Pope; and, in scorn of her fruitless promises, the French Emperor took pleasure in dating from Vienna itself the following decree of the 17th of May:—"Considering that when his august predecessor, Charlemagne, Emperor of the French, gave sundry domains in gift to the Bishop of Rome, he gave them as feudatories, merely for the

security of his subjects, without having, in so doing, separated Rome from his empire; considering also, that ever since that time, the union of the temporal and spiritual powers had been, and was still the occasion and source of continual discord, that the pontiffs had but too often used the one to support the pretences of the other, and that by these means those spiritual concerns which are of their own nature inherently immutable, being intermingled with temporal interests, became as changeable as the aspect of the times; considering, finally, that what he had proposed in order to conciliate the security of his troops, the peace and happiness of his people, the dignity and integrity of his empire, with the temporal pretensions of the sovereign Pontiff, had been proposed in vain; he resolved, willed, and commanded, that the states of the Pope should be and remain united to the French empire; that the city of Rome, the chief seat of Christianity, so full of illustrious recollections, should become a free and Imperial city, and have a peculiar form of government; that the monuments of Roman greatness, which still existed, should be preserved at the expense of

his Imperial treasury; that the public debt of the Roman states should become the debt of the empire; that the revenue of the Pope should be augmented to two millions of francs, and be exempted from every charge and contribution. The property and palaces of the Holy Father were to be exempted from all taxes, jurisdiction, or visits, and possess also further special immunities; and finally, an extraordinary consulta should on the first of June take possession of the states of the Pope, in the name of the Emperor, and should so provide that the government, according to the ordinances of the empire, should come into action on the first day of 1810. Losing no time in this matter, on the very same day (the 17th of May) he appointed to the consulta, Miollis (who was also governor-general and president), Saliceti, Degerando, Janet, Dalpozzo, and, as secretary, a Balbo, the son of Count Balbo, of Turin.

In this manner Rome came into the immediate power of Napoleon, and the popes, after a possession of a thousand years, were dispossessed of their temporal dominion. At this violent and

unprecedented act Pius raised his sacred voice in an energetic appeal to the world at large—"Thus then the dark machinations of the enemies of the Holy See have been successfully executed; and thus, after the violent and unjust invasion of the noblest and most considerable part of our dominions, we are despoiled, under unworthy pretences, with flagrant injustice, of our temporal sovereignty, with which our spiritual independence is closely conjoined. We are consoled and comforted in this barbarous persecution, by the reflection that we have not incurred this grievous calamity by any fault committed against the Emperor of the French, or against France, against that France which has always possessed our love, has always been the cherished object of our care; nor have we incurred this affliction by any intrigue of mundane policy; but it has fallen on us solely for having refused to renounce our duties, and betray our conscience. If the Catholic religion teaches that it is unlawful for any one to offend his God in order to satisfy man, would not such compliance be yet more criminal in him who is the head and the sovereign guide of the church?

Bound, moreover, in duty towards God, towards the church, to transmit all our rights to our successors entire and intact, we protest against this new and violent spoliation; we declare to be null and void the occupation recently made of our dominions; we refuse with firm and unalterable resolution, we reject every revenue or pension which the Emperor of the French pretends to make to us, and to the members of our sacred college; for we should incur the stain of infamy, become the opprobrium of the church, if we were to accept our food and our living from the hands of the usurper of our possessions. For the supply of our wants we will trust to Providence, we will trust to the piety of the faithful in Christ; content thus humbly to pass the remainder of a life now oppressed by so many sorrows, by so many afflictions. We prostrate ourselves with the deepest humility before the throne of God, humbly adoring his impenetrable decrees; we invoke his divine mercy in favour of our subjects, of those subjects who were once our love and our glory, and whom (having done as much in the present circumstances as duty enjoined) we now exhort to love religion,

and to continue in the faith; and prostrating themselves between the threshold and the altar, and praying earnestly with sighs and tears and groans to implore the Supreme Father of Light, that he may deign to change the perverse councils of those from whom our persecutions have arisen."

The day after he had poured forth these lamentations from his paternal bosom, Pius fulminated his excommunication against the Emperor Napoleon, and against all those who had co-operated with him in the occupation of the states of the church, and especially of the city of Rome. He also issued an interdict against all bishops and prelates, whether secular or regular, who should not conform to his decrees concerning the oaths, and all public acts of adherence to the new government.

Having thus given sentence, he retired to the innermost recesses of his palace, in order to devote himself to prayer, and to await whatever his antagonists might prepare for him. He had the doors fastened, and built up the entrances of the Quirinal, so that they could not reach the inner apartments, nor approach his person without a

manifest violation of his domicil. The Napoleonists informed their master of the indignation of the Pope, and of the interdict he had issued, requesting orders how to proceed; to which he replied, "Let the Pope retract the excommunication and accept the two millions; if he refuse, arrest him, and conduct him to France." This harsh order was harshly executed. In the night of the fifth of July, a troop of sbirri, ruffians, galley slaves, and with them—a circumstance scarcely credible—general officers and Imperial soldiers, proceeded to violate the pontifical residence. The sbirri and the ruffians who accompanied them scaled the wall at the battery, where it was lowest, and, going in, opened the door to the Napoleonists, part of whom were of the armed police and part of the regular army. They burst open the interior doors—they shook them from their hinges—they broke through the walls: the midnight clamour spread from chamber to chamber through the violated Quirinal. The lighted torches that partially dispersed the darkness of the night, by contrast but deepened the shadowy obscurity of the palace, and lent additional horror to the

attack. Awaking from their peaceful slumbers at the terrific uproar of this unexpected tumult, the servants of the Pope trembled with fear. Pius alone showed himself unmoved. There was with him Cardinal Pacca, who was reserved for a yet severer destiny than the Pontiff, for having in affliction and in misfortune maintained his fidelity to his sovereign. They prayed together and interchanged consolations. And now the myrmidons of Napoleon, having burst open and thrown down all the doors, reached the apartment of the innocent and persecuted Pontiff. He hastily assumed the pontifical habit, desiring that they should testify to the world the violation, not only of his personal liberty, but of his office and his dignity. The general of the police forcibly entered the Pope's chamber; he was accompanied by a man named Diana, who had narrowly escaped losing his head at Paris, for having engaged in a conspiracy against Napoleon with the sculptor Ceracchi, and who now not only was ready to serve Napoleon, but gave his aid to the most censurable act the Emperor had for a long time committed. Radet, recollecting the orders of the

Emperor, offered the Pope the alternative of accepting the revenue of two millions, and revoking the excommunication, or submitting to be carried as a captive to France. Pius rejected the proffered revenue, not haughtily but mildly, the calmness of his refusal showing even greater strength of mind than the act itself. He then told Radet that he freely pardoned him, as acting under the orders of another, but expressed his amazement that Diana, one of his own subjects, should presume to appear in his presence thus audaciously to outrage his dignity; notwithstanding which he extended his forgiveness to him also.

The Pope, having pronounced his refusal, and having solemnly protested against the usurpation of the French government, declaring all its acts null and void, then said that he was ready, they might do with him as they would; "though exposed to torture or death, there is nothing an innocent man should fear." And then holding in the one hand a crucifix, in the other a breviary (the sole remains of all his greatness), he walked on whither they led him, surrounded by the vile

rabble who had stormed his palace, and by the Imperial soldiers, who had not disdained to mingle with them. Radet requested him to give the names of such of his most faithful servants, as he wished to make the companions of his journey. He gave the list, but not one of them was conceded to him: Cardinal Bartolommeo Pacca was torn from his embrace. He was instantly conducted amid all this tumult to the carriage which stood prepared for that purpose; and was driven with extreme speed on the road to Tuscany, Radet alone being with him. Whilst these shameless proceedings were going on in the pontifical palace, Miollis, who had been ordered to watch the execution of the enterprise, remained in the garden of the constabulary (whether that spot had been chosen by accident or by design, I know not) to receive the reports of its progress, which were made to him from one minute to another: certainly, on such an occasion, the name of the constabulary palace had a fearful sound, as it recalled to mind the fate of Clement the Seventh. Miollis had not been without fear of some tumult; and therefore he had selected the night for the deed, had

commanded the utmost speed in its execution, and had marched up a reinforcement of two thousand soldiers to Rome to ensure its success, under pretence of sending them to upper Italy.

Amazement and horror prevailed throughout Rome, when, as the day broke, the news of the enormity which had been committed was generally known. The captors hurried the Pope on with the utmost speed of post horses, to outstrip report; so much did the Imperial lord of war dread the re-action of religious feeling. The local guards transmitted to each other from station to station the impotent captive, but potent Pontiff. As they dreaded some insurrection at Genoa, on the Levantine Riviera they embarked the Pope in a light skiff which had come from Tuscany. Pius inquired of his guard, whether it were the intention of the French government to drown him? he was answered in the negative. When they disembarked, they shut him up in one of the carriages prepared at Genoa, threatening the postillions with death, if they ceased to gallop; on reaching Alexandria they stopped to dine, deeming themselves secure on account of the number

of its garrison. They traversed Piedmont, with the celerity of winged flight: at Sant' Ambrosio di Susa the guard prepared the horses, in order to set out again with still greater velocity than they had arrived. Enfeebled by age, by misfortune, and by the speed of the journey, Pius asked whether Napoleon wished to receive him alive or dead? "Alive," replied Radet. "If so," added Pius, "I shall sleep to night at Sant' Ambrosio." To which proposal they were obliged to consent. They next passed over Mount Cenis. The Italian people not having been able, from the celerity of the Pope's passage, to show reverence to his presence, now that he was gone devoutly visited the places where he had paused, and where he had passed, esteeming them sacred from his misfortunes, from his dignity, from his sanctity. These were the seeds of Napoleon's destruction: already the prophecies of Pius were receiving confirmation, already the fulness of time drew on. The faithful Pacca was sent, as if he had been a malefactor, to the fortress of Pietracastello, near Belley, the fatal residence of every innocent man who incurred the displeasure of Napoleon.

The Pope was allowed to rest for some days at Grenoble, and then set forward; yet, as if there were no other road, he was taken by Valence, in Dauphiny, the place where Pius the Sixth had died, an arrangement the more insulting because unnecessary. Through Avignon, through Aix, through Nice, they conducted him to Savona. A strange journey this, from Rome through France to Savona! But his journey was conducted as secretly as his capture had been made; for, except the few who actually saw the Pontiff, none knew of it; because few of the letters of private individuals, and none of the gazettes mentioned where he had been nor whither he had gone. The French honoured him with the same observances the Italians had done; the prefects of the departments treated him with reverence and respect, for such were the commands of Napoleon.

Napoleon, conqueror of Austria, returned to France to his Imperial seat at Fontainebleau. The Italian deputies, as had been commanded and concerted, were already met to adulate him: Moscati, Guicciardini, Testi, for the kingdom of Italy; Cardinal Fondari, archbishop of Vienna

and grand almoner of the Princess Eliza, Alliata, archbishop of Pisa, a Chigi, a Lucci, a Mastiani, a Dupuy, a Benvenuti, a Tommaso Corsini, for Tuscany; the Duke of Braschi, Prince Gabrielli, Prince Spada, the Duke of Bracciano, the Chevalier Falconieri, Count Marescotti, the Marquis Salombri, the Marquis Travaglini, for Rome. Moscati addressed the Emperor to thank him for the laws he had bestowed; Fondari expressed the gratitude of Tuscany for the precious gift of the Princess Eliza.

The magniloquence of Rome was yet greater. Braschi, the orator of the city of the Seven Hills, spoke of the Scipios, of the Camilli, of the Cæsars, and of father Tiber. "There still remains," said Braschi, in conclusion, (all nephew as he was of the persecuted Pius the Sixth)—"there still remains that capitol to which so many illustrious conquerors have ascended; it still exists, and shows to you, Sire, the glorious remains—a site worthy of your immortal name; there that laurel wreath which Nerva hung in the temple of Jove puts forth new verdure. Your protection alone can shield it from every hostile insult, as the

eagle of Trajan defended it from the aggression of the German, the Parthian, the Armenian, and the Dacian."

Braschi discoursed to the Emperor Napoleon of Cæsar, of Nerva, and of Trajan; he might as well have alluded to some other Imperial names, and that without offending Napoleon, who accused Tacitus of having calumniated Nero. But why and how he thought of speaking of Camillus and of Scipio I cannot devise, since Napoleon often said that the period of Roman history from Tarquin to Cæsar was episodical, and that the true and legitimate times of Roman glory were those of the kings and of the emperors. In this spirit he called the son he afterwards had by Maria Louisa of Austria, not king of the Romans, but king of Rome.

To so great a pitch of folly had this man come, that, after having destroyed the modern republics, he would fain have destroyed even the memory of the republics of antiquity. Yet the zeal of modern republicans had burned like fire in his cause, and had for him sustained incredible wars. The kings of Europe were gratified by

his hatred of the republics, and they fostered it, believing that he had joined their party at a moment when such aid was most opportune. But he tormented them by it, as the world knows, and as they quickly found; so that I have often laughed, and have still more often wept, to think of it.

In his reply to the Romans, the Emperor exhorted them to reflect on the glorious exploits of their ancestors, and promised to pass the Alps in order to reside some time amongst them. "The French emperors, he said, his illustrious predecessors, had separated them from the empire, and had given them in fief to their bishops; but the good of his people no longer admitted of any division. France and Italy must be placed under the same laws, under the same sovereign: for the rest, they had need of powerful support, and such his arm could give, and such he would render for their advantage; nevertheless, he did not wish that any change should be made in the religion of their fathers. Himself the eldest son of the church, he wished not to leave her bosom. Jesus Christ had never deemed it neces-

sary to endow St. Peter with a temporal sovereignty. The Roman See was the first in Christendom; the bishop of Rome was the spiritual head of the church; he himself was its Emperor; and he would have them render to God the things that were God's, and to Cæsar what belonged to Cæsar."

I must now describe Rome as it was under the French. On entering upon the government, the Roman Consulta gave their earnest attention to the security of the new order of things: knowing what discontents and hostile feelings were brooding, they thought it prudent to watch the most secret thoughts of the people; they organized a police; made Piranesi, a man well fitted for the office, the director general; Botoli, Count Gherardi, Visconti, Delup-Verdun, Pesse, and Timetei, men in whom the French had confidence, were the sub-directors. So much for words and secret actions: to secure the inquisition of writings, even of the most private nature, the officers employed by the Pope in the post-office were displaced, and their charge was given to the post-master-general of France. Nor was this superin-

tendance merely nominal; for, with the most culpable treachery, letters were opened and read, particularly those addressed to Savona, where the Pope resided. Extreme rigour was displayed on this subject: the Dukes of Otranto and Rovigo down to their lowest agents, were busily employed in prying into the Roman letters; they read some that were harmless and trivial, others that were inimical to the new government, and some, too, that were ludicrous; for the wits of Rome, of whom there were many, notwithstanding the distresses of the times, sent to the post letters addressed to Savona, filled with rancour against the spies themselves, and against the vile system they pursued. It was necessary, in order to maintain tranquillity, that force should be added to secret intelligence; and as the French soldiers could not be everywhere, guards were organized under the name of metropolitan legions in Rome, and under that of provincial legions, in the provinces. Francis Marescotti, a man devoted to France, was at the head of the Roman legion.

These arrangements served to prevent political movements, but not to restrain men of evil

habits, who infested the Roman district, even in the immediate neighbourhood of the city. To put an end to this, the territory was divided into two departments, one called the department of the Tiber, the other the department of Thrasymene: to these two prefects were appointed, Gacone and Olivette. Municipal officers were also elected from amongst men of honour, probity, and intelligence. The Consulta acted promptly, but, nevertheless, wisely, and beneficially in every thing, except in the vexatious arrangements regarding the police and the public revenue; with regard to these they were inexorable. On such points the characteristic obstinacy of Napoleon was never to be moved. The peculiar magistracy which had been appointed by Sixtus the Fifth for the good government of the city, and afterwards modified by Clement the Eighth, had been charged with the administration of the communes, and some benefit had resulted to the public from their labours; but as their functions interfered with those of the new civic authorities, the order was now abolished by the Consulta, who substituted the French forms of

municipal government. They called the municipal council the senate; and elected men bearing illustrious names to fill its seats—the Princes Doria, Albani, Chigi, Aldobrandini, Colonna, Barberini, the Dukes Altieri, Braschi, Cesarini, and Fiano. Braschi, in all things docile to the will of Napoleon, was appointed mayor, or, we should rather say, syndic, of Rome. Thus they proceeded, persuading themselves that the people would be satisfied with a syndic who was virtually French, and a senate which was nominally Roman. In the mean time soldiers were raised for foreign service, according to the French conscription laws, even in the "Free Imperial city of Rome."* The civil and criminal codes of France were also introduced, and were promulgated by the Consulta, for persons and property, as well for the finance as for judicial ordinances. Bartolucci, a man of vast and profound understanding, possessing no common literary and legal knowledge, and deeply skilled in the science of state policy, was appointed president of the Court of

* So called by Napoleon, vide page 137.

Appeal. He understood the character of Napoleon, and predicted his inevitable ruin. Called as a councillor of state to Paris, he there gave practical proofs of the learning and wisdom which distinguished him.

The treasury was the first care of the administration; and Janet, who conducted that department, retained the donative imports, which produced about a million and a half French francs, the tax on salt, which was computed at about a million, and the fees on mills, amounting to about five hundred thousand French francs. Between the luxury of the superior magistrates, the poverty of the territory, and the universal debt, the product of these taxes was insufficient to keep the political machine in motion. Miollis received fifteen thousand francs a month as governor-general, and ten thousand francs in addition as president of the Consulta. Lemarrois, as commandant of the district, received for his own salary fifteen thousand francs a month, and for the expences of his police establishment four thousand francs a month. Saliceti, not content with being on an equality with his colleagues, obtained four thousand francs a month. These

impositions followed up the long course of misfortune which had afflicted Rome. However, the Consulta made a good use of another portion of the public treasure: they proposed to Napoleon, and he readily gave his consent, to grant an ample pension to the Duchess of Bourbon, of the house of Parma, and to Charles Emanuel, King of Sardinia, who lived at Rome, devoting themselves to religious exercises. This was a noble act, and one worthy of record in history.

The chief difficulties of the Roman government arose out of the state of ecclesiastical affairs. At the period of the union of the Marches to the kingdom of Italy, the Pope had prohibited the oaths; and at the moment of his departure from Rome he confirmed this prohibition for the Roman state. Napoleon on his side exacted the oaths, even from the clergy. The confusion and distress which were thus occasioned were indescribable. The principal difficulty lay in the oath of fidelity, for there was no question as to that of obedience. They objected to the word *fidelity*, conceiving it to imply their recognition of the Emperor Napoleon as their legitimate sovereign; which preten-

sion they deemed it impossible to acknowledge, as the Pope had not resigned his authority; nor could it be expected that private individuals devoted solely to the offices of religion, the greater part of whom were unacquainted with general literature, and some even wholly unlearned, should investigate all the old records in order to determine for themselves, whether the donation of Charlemagne or of Pepin were valid, whether it were absolute or conditional, and whether the arguments by which Napoleon impugned it were valid or invalid. They only knew this, that the Popes had been the sovereigns of Rome for more than ten centuries, and as such had been recognized by the whole world, and even by Napoleon himself. They knew also that the Pope had not renounced his claims, but, on the contrary, had strongly protested against the usurpation.

Dalpozzo, a member of the Consulta, a man of great learning and of still greater ability, undertook to defend the oaths. According to his reasoning, "the divine law prescribes obedience to the magistrates appointed by the laws of the state, and this precept, he said, had no limitation,

except in cases where such things are required as are in themselves absolutely unlawful, and then the contrary is to be fully maintained.

"The ecclesiastical authority has no power to alter or to diminish the obligations of a divine precept. It evidently therefore follows, that the sovereign is entitled to an oath of pure and simple obedience and fidelity, without any explicit restriction. The present sovereign of Rome pretended to prohibit from this time forth that oath, the formulary of which he had himself furnished. This certainly could not be esteemed a precept of the church, and even if it were, it could not oblige subjects to expose themselves to the indignation of their sovereign in order to observe it, nor to the penalties which the refusal of the oaths would entail; for the laws of the church, according to common rules, are not binding where serious inconvenience may be the result. But this prohibition was in fact a means devised by the dispossessed prince to promote mere human ends, its sole object being to disturb the new government in order to procure his own re-instatement. In this the Pope had not acted as became the head of

the church, nor as the vicar of Him who said that his kingdom was not of this world, and who, both by his precepts and his example, had taught that obedience is always to be rendered to constituted authorities. Solely, therefore, from the confusion which resulted from the union of the two powers, spiritual and temporal, in one hand, had that enormous opinion arisen, which at the present moment it was beyond measure important for the good order and the peace of the state to correct. The formulary prescribed to the inhabitants of the Roman state was the same which was in use in the Italian kingdom and throughout the whole extent of the French empire; and in this form more than forty millions of Catholic subjects took the oaths without hesitation, whenever required so to do. The formulary particularly prescribed to bishops and curates had been settled by the concordat between the French government and Pius the Seventh. The doubts suggested to the people, that whosoever vowed obedience to the constitution of the empire affirmed thereby his approval of the law of divorce, and other similar insinuations, were unfounded. By the constitution

of the empire were understood those political laws which regulate the form of government—laws which are always distinct from the civil statutes. Besides, divorce was not commanded by the civil law, but was only permitted to those who deemed it consonant with their religious principles. Already several bishops of the Roman state, and a great number of curates, of canons, and other ecclesiastics, and also of the civil magistrates, had given an example of submission and obedience which others would do well to follow. It was of consequence that the good effects of this example should be generally diffused: to this end, the government, he said, in conclusion, would make it their especial care that such ecclesiastics as had already conformed should be honoured with evident signs of favour and confidence."

The principles of Dalpozzo, as to obedience, were irrefragable; and as the clergy did not hesitate to take the oath of submission to the new monarch, and moreover promised not to participate in any plot against him, a just and beneficent government should have contented

itself with this. But Napoleon insisted on the oath of fidelity: whether it were that he believed that an oath of that nature implied the acknowledgment of him as the legitimate sovereign,—and thus, in fact, as we have already said, it was understood, both by the governors and the governed; or that he wished thus to make the disaffected discover themselves, and furnish him with a pretext for sending them from Rome, where he thought that their presence was fraught with danger to his domination. Throughout this affair there was too much scrupulosity on one side, and too much rigour on the other. Nevertheless, the clergy might have understood the word fidelity as implying simple obedience; for thus had Pius the Sixth himself explained it in ninety-eight, declaring that the Romans might lawfully swear fidelity to that government which had been created by the occupiers of his states, that is, by that republic whose jurisdiction was incompatible with his temporal sovereignty. For the rest, we do not here intend to condemn those who, sincerely believing that they could not conscientiously take

the required oath, preferred the alternative of exile or imprisonment. This point was attended with great difficulties, and the Consulta proceeded cautiously. In the work of separation they began by the bishops: some conformed, some refused. The conformists were the bishops of Perugia, Segni, and Aragni; the non-conformists those of Terracina, Sezze, Piperno, Ostia, Veletri, Amelia, Terni, Acquapendente, Nocera, Assisi, and Alatri. The bishop of Tivoli also took the oath; but, repenting of having done so, on St. Peter's day he went to the church of the Carmelites, in full pontifical state, and after the gospel made his recantation with many tears. The gendarmes arrested him, and imprisoned him in the Minerva.

Surrounded by the bayonets of Napoleon's armed police, the non-jurists were conducted, some to France, some to Turin, some to Piacenza, some to Fenestrella. Baccolo, a Venetian, Bishop of Famagosta, a man of great originality and facetious humour, and a devoted partisan of the Pope, was carried away from Rome as a non-juror. The police officers knew no peace as long as they had him in charge, because the more cheerless

his exile, and the greater his poverty, the more he laughed, and the more he ridiculed them, till at last for very weariness they let him go as a madman. But when at liberty, he persisted in writing and saying such strange things at Genoa, at Milan, and at Venice, that the Napoleonists were obliged to watch him very closely: in brief, Baccolo was an intolerable trouble to the spies of Napoleon, and gave them all employment, from the Duke of Otranto down to the insignificant Olivetto, who had superseded Piranesi. The simple mention of his name was sufficient to set them all on the alert.

As soon as the bishops were disposed of, the canons were next required to take the oaths, and Janet hoped that they would make little difficulty on the subject, having rich benefices, and leading luxurious lives: many complied, and many also refused. Of the two chapters of St. John, and St. Peter's, at Rome, all refused, except Vergani and Doria; but the canons of Tivoli and Viterbo, with three exceptions only, conformed to the existing government. The chapter of Subiaco also conformed in the first instance, at the

instigation of that of Tivoli, but afterwards retracted. The canons of Canepina, and of Cori unanimously refused: the gendarmes had much on hand. Still greater difficulty existed as to the curates, especially those of Rome: they were men of blameless lives, and were of evident advantage to the people as well in temporal as in spiritual matters. The Consulta wisely recommended delay; but the pertinacity of Napoleon's character made him prefer resorting to any extreme rather than relax in the smallest degree from the resolutions he had adopted; and he commanded the Consulta to exact the oaths from all without exception. In the provinces most of the curates were recusants; and the police carried them off from their parishes. Of the Romans, the greater number resisted; three complied—those of Traspontina, of Santa Maria Del Carmine, without the Porta Portese, and of the Madonna Della Luce, in Trastevere. The recusants were carried away by force; or if sick, or too infirm for banishment, they were shut up in San Calisto; the conformists were proportionably favoured. The exile of the curates

occasioned lamentable effects; for the offices of religion were interrupted for want of sufficient number of pastors. Napoleon, putting his scythe into the ecclesiastical field, remedied the evils in his own way: of his own proper authority, he suppressed the bishoprics and the parishes of the non-conforming bishops and parochial clergy, and added them, as he pleased, to the sees and benefices of the other party. In this manner he changed the limits of the spiritual jurisdiction as he pleased, and granted it to whom he chose. In the Roman state the convents both of monks and nuns were now suppressed; foreigners were sent to their own country, and the natives were obliged to lay aside the habit. The soldiery were sent to expel the nuns, granting them but twenty four hours' notice. The young and healthy were sent to their own homes, the aged and infirm were received in convents allotted for that purpose. In these days the aspect of Rome was truly pitiable; the police carrying away bishops, and canons, and curates, young and old, healthy or infirm, from the country to Rome,

and from Rome to exile; the exiles and their families bewailing their separation in tears; and the hills of Rome resounding with the lamentations, with the cries and sobs of the afflicted.

The Consulta laboured to console the desolated city: this they strove to accomplish, now by an ordinance suited to the locality, now by one ill-fitted to its circumstances; but on every occasion their intentions were upright and benevolent. They extended their cares to science, literature, agriculture, commerce, and the arts. They provided from the treasury the necessary instruments for the observatory of the Roman college. They finished the conductors of electricity for the church of St. Peter, which had been commenced by Pius; they attended particularly to the alum works of Solfa, and the iron mines of Umbria, which had been neglected since the time of the civil war, although the iron is much more soft and pliable than that of the island of Elba. Skilful artificers were attracted by money: two Roman pupils were sent to the French school of the mines, two to the vete-

rinary school, two to that of arts and trades. These were seeds of useful knowledge in ecclesiastical Rome.

It was feared that the residence of the French in Italy, especially in Tuscany and in the Roman states, added to the vivacious charm of their language, so well adapted to the familiar uses of life, would deteriorate from the correctness and purity of the Italian tongue; a fear entirely groundless, because it would have been difficult to discover what further corruption it could admit of. Napoleon, however, who, for I know not what strange caprice, had united Tuscany and Rome to France, and had made French the language of all public acts, had, towards the end of the last year, granted premiums for the purest specimen of Italian composition. The Consulta of Rome, in order to co-operate in the design of the Emperor, at the suggestion of Degerando, granted an order to allow the use of the Italian language in conjunction with the French in all public acts; a benevolent but an extraordinary permission in Italy. The academy degli Arcadi, was also arranged so as to promote the study

of the language, granting premiums for the best compositions in prose or verse. This academy held its sittings on the Janiculum in the halls of St. Onofrio. The academy of St. Luke, placed by the advice of Degerando on a more magnificent scale than formerly, was an institution worthy of their ancient fame, and well adapted to the climate, to the disposition of the people, and to the usages of Rome. The Consulta gave it abundant resources, and the Emperor bestowed on it a more convenient edifice, and a donation of 100,000 francs.

Speaking of the encouragement granted to letters, I must not neglect to mention the bounty of the Consulta to the convent of St. Basil, at Grotta-Ferrata, the only remains of the ancient order of St. Basil, which, in the darkness of the middle ages, brought to Europe the knowledge of the Greek language, and with it introduced letters in general. These monks had preserved the Greek language and the Greek chaunt in their choir and liturgy. Every vestige of the Greek singing would have been lost if the order had been suppressed, and the monks, in conse-

quence, dispersed. The Emperor granted the prayer of the Consulta, and the convent was preserved, notwithstanding which the order itself became extinct; for the spirit of the age delighted itself in far other things than monachism and the Greek chaunt.

With the same benevolence the Consulta provided for the convent of the Camaldulenses of Monte Corona, reformed Benedictines of the rule of St Romuald. I shall here indulge in relating some particulars of Monte Corona. The mind, wearied and agitated by the recital of so many acts of treachery, of spoliation, and of murder, may now repose awhile in this seat of tranquillity. The Camaldulenses have preserved, after the lapse of many centuries, the rule of St. Romuald whole and uncorrupted. They are at once both cenobites and eremites: as cenobites, they live in solitude; as hermits, they employ themselves in manual labour, as well agricultural as household, without any distinctions amongst themselves of fathers or brothers, of superiors or inferiors. They serve each other in turn, practise hospitality, exercise charity,

Their life, even in the days of Napoleon, was peaceful and serene: devoted to God, devoted to their sovereign, devoted to the good of their fellow creatures, they spent their days in prayer, obedience, and charity. The convent, situated on the summit of a mountain, about fourteen miles from Perugia, is surrounded by a thick forest. What was once a desert the labours of the cenobites have converted into fertile fields; magnificent oaks grow spontaneously on their rugged summits, form vast woods, and afford noble timber for the largest ships. The convent is the example of virtue, the fountain of beneficence, the retreat of men disgusted by the impurities of the world, the hospital of the traveller. It is the model of piety, of the virtues of solitude, and of boundless beneficence. Though kingdoms were overthrown, though the inflamed passions of men spurned all control, though in their malignant hatred, one generation slaughtered another, yet amidst all this strife of cruelty and of ambition, the pious hermits of Monte Corona, calm, gentle, courteous, beneficent, held the even tenor of their way in

innocence and peace; and if the abasement of the Pope placed the continuance of the community in doubt, it is deeply to be lamented that the ambition of the times should at last have menaced even these sainted solitudes. The Roman Consulta well deserved the benedictions of the devout and the unfortunate, for having, at the instigation of Janet, preserved this pious retreat.

I wish also, in some degree, to enlarge on the order of the Propaganda: the Emperor Napoleon, delighting in such things as strongly excite the mind of man, desired to foster the Propaganda, since he had taken it into his own hands. Degerando, who loved learning, and favoured the progress of civilization, took under his own immediate protection this order; a true recital of whose proceedings will clearly show that it has not deserved either the exaggerated praises of fanatics, or the sarcastic sneers of philosophers. This recital will furnish also another example of the grand conceptions of Italian minds. The primary object of this institution was to promote the propagation of the Catholic faith throughout the whole earth;

yet their labours were not so entirely restricted to this end as to prevent their attending to the diffusion of letters, science, and civilization amongst the ignorant, the barbarous, and the savage. Thus religion and knowledge mutually assisted each other: religion was sometimes the precursor of civilization, and sometimes followed in her train. The order also was admirably calculated to aid in diplomatic and political arrangements; and it was this that chiefly recommended it to the favour of Napoleon; for in it one sole head governs and moves an infinite number of subaltern agents in all parts of the world. The expedient seemed opportune to Napoleon, who was not a man to neglect to profit by it; and as he had promoted the Catholic religion in order to gain the empire of France, he now desired to promote the Propaganda, in order to acquire that of the world at large. Degerando knew this, and wrote to him, saying, "that as far as politics are concerned, the Propaganda, bearing to distant regions with the seeds of our religion, and our manners, our opinions also, and the roots of

European ideas, the history of the most glorious of reigns, some knowledge of our laws and of our institutions; preparing men for certain events, which it belonged only to the vastness of the Imperial mind to conceive; procuring friends the more faithful as the more strongly bound by the bonds of morality; and thus offering so many and such various means of corresponding in countries in which the government maintained no direct agent; procuring exact information of the nature of the countries into which the missionaries alone could penetrate; finally, opening a way, almost a channel, through which to convey, with the lights of civilization, the influence of a system that was, in its greatness, to embrace the whole world, —was an institution rather of unique than of supreme importance."

These things are of themselves sufficiently clear, and if some philosophers, especially the French, have attacked Rome for having, as they asserted, employed religion as a means of promoting political ends, it is evident that they were not unwilling themselves to imitate her

when France became mistress of her resources, which they inclined to direct to the same end.

Certain it is that Napoleon delighted in nothing more than in the Propaganda. With regard to the origin of this society, it was instituted by Gregory the Fifteenth, who committed it to the care of an assembly of four cardinals and a secretary; and its office was to send missionaries to all parts of the world. Gregory endowed it with funds of its own, and, with an assignment on the apostolical chamber, granted it immunities and privileges, and desired that each cardinal, on his appointment, should pay a fee in aid of its disbursements. But Urban the Eighth, considering that if it was useful to send European missionaries to propagate the faith, it would be still more useful to send out natives of the countries to be converted, added to the institution the College of the Propaganda, in which are received and instructed, at the public expense, youths of distant and more especially of oriental nations, who, when grown to man's estate, return to their own countries to aid there the apostolical missionaries.

The number of the pupils generally amounted to about seventy. As the air of Rome disagreed with the Chinese, they were sent to a seminary and college founded for this purpose at Naples. Innocent the Twelfth and other pontiffs, were liberal in their gifts to the Propaganda. Private individuals also enriched it with donations and legacies: Vires bestowed on it the finest palace in Rome; and Cardinal Borgia, who died at Lyons in 1801, bequeathed it a part of his property. This order, destined to the propagation of the Gospel, consisted of four ranks: the first comprised the apostolical vicars, whether bishops or archbishops, or prefects of the mission, whose office it was to write the letters and the orders respecting the labours of the missionaries. Subordinate to the vicars were next the simple missionaries: the third rank was composed of those employed in schools, colleges, and monasteries: the fourth consisted of simple agents for administrative or economical purposes. The Propaganda began its labours by appointing bishops and archbishops for the ancient churches, two patriarchs,

one for Syria, one for Chaldea; bishops and apostolical missionaries for the islands of the Archipelago, for Albania, Servia, Bosnia, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Smyrna, Antioch, and Anticyra. It sent two bishops, apostolical vicars, to Constantinople, one for the Latin, the other for the Greek church. A great number were destined for Persia, Mogul, Malabar, for India beyond the Ganges, for the kingdoms of Siam, Java, and Pegu, for Cochin China and Tonquin China. Nor must we omit to mention the important missions sent by the Propaganda to the United States of America. Apostolical vicars and bishops were also sent to disseminate the doctrines of the gospel in those parts of Europe which have seceded from the church. These attempts and exertions on the part of the Catholic community, stimulated the Lutheran churches to endeavour also to propagate religion amongst nations yet barbarous and savage. They sent, therefore, the English especially, missionaries to the East Indies, and to the islands of the Pacific Ocean, by whose pious labours many tribes were brought

within the pale of civilization; and if the Popes mixed politics, as it is said, with these religious enterprises, it remains to be proved, whether Russia and England have been entirely free from this imputation. To aid the bishop and vicars, there were established at different stations, which were more frequent in proportion to the numbers of the Catholic population, prefects and curates; these had permanent residences and regular flocks. The missionaries were next in rank, and their mandate comprehended vast provinces, now visiting one place, now another, as occasion required, but always in their own allotted districts. These missionaries were generally elected from the secular clergy.* They were especially enjoined by the Propaganda not to intermeddle, or on any pretext whatsoever to interfere, in the temporal affairs, and still less in the politics of the countries which they were appointed to instruct. The Propaganda taught the useful arts and the profane sciences solely in order by them to influence the minds,

* That is, those of the Romish church who are not bound by monastic vows.

to fix the attention, and to gain the good will of the barbarian inhabitants of uncivilized regions. The missionaries are entirely subordinate to this society, and are supported from its funds. It had formed three schools in Egypt, four in Illyria, two in Albania, two in Transylvania, one at Constantinople, and several in European countries, not members of the Catholic communion. These colleges were maintained at the expense of the Propaganda; it also paid a thousand crowns yearly to the bishops of Ireland, in aid of the Catholic schools of that kingdom; and supported the Irish, Scotch, Greek, and Maronite colleges: finally, though every religious order had a separate college for its missionaries, yet these missionaries depended on the Propaganda, as to the scene and the nature of their labours. When their studies were accomplished, the pupils of the colleges were, according to merit, made bishops, prefects, curates, or simple missionaries. The agents or purveyors performed no religious office, but being distributed in the most convenient stations, attended to the transmission of letters and of the funds

necessary to keep in motion so vast a machine. As for the supreme assembly, which sat in Rome, it consisted of five parts: the secretariat, where the letters were written, and to this department the interpreters belonged; the archives, comprehending the library and the museum—both containing the rarest curiosities; the printing-office, celebrated for the beauty and the variety of its types; and, finally, the college for students, and the chamber of finance; in which last were kept the accounts of the society. Its revenue amounted to 33,396 Roman crowns yearly, which are equal to 78,660 francs. These revenues had been derived from the banks, the tributes paid by Naples and Venice, and by the religious orders, and, finally, by the fees received from newly appointed cardinals. But the universal ruin had fallen also on this institution: some sources of revenue were entirely lost, and others flowed in feebly and tardily, and to complete its misfortunes the palace of the society at Rome was destroyed in the tumults of 1800. When, therefore, Napoleon took possession of Rome, the Propaganda existed only

in name. As the banks no longer made any returns, the chamber of finance was by an Imperial order sealed up, and the archives were carried to Paris. Degerando wished to place it on a footing that should enable it at once to recommence its payments. The Emperor himself had, by a senatus consultum, declared that he desired the conservation of the institution, and promised to endow it from the Imperial treasury. But diverted from such thoughts, first by the importance of his military cares, and afterwards by the disasters which occurred, he could neither effectually arrange the machine, nor excite that zeal by an appeal to mere political interests, which, from the love of religion, the exhortations of the popes, and ancient prepossessions, had animated the missionaries in the pontifical times; so that under Napoleon the society was of little utility, either in religion or in politics. The ruins of the Propaganda palace alone remained to attest the grandeur of the ancient edifice, and the mad rage of the men who had destroyed it.

As the archives were carried to Paris, they

wished also to deprive Rome of the collection of oriental types in the printing-office, which were those of the characters of twenty-three eastern languages. The Imperial press at Paris demanded the matrices as well as the types, in order to supply the points that were altered. This would have been a serious loss to Rome, where the learning and the literature of the east had been cultivated as if in their native seat. Degerando intreated either that the points might be cast at Rome from the matrices, or that only those necessary for the altered points should be sent to Paris. His petition was graciously heard; and the papal city is indebted to him for the conservation of a work of great importance both to learning and to literature.

The art of working in mosaic, which had been the peculiar boast of Rome, was rapidly declining; for, on account of the misfortunes of the times little was executed, and funds were wanting for the expenses of the materials and of the workmen. The principal manufacture, which served as a model to the others, belonged to the basilica of St. Peter, and defrayed its own

expences by the profits of the labours of the establishment. But from the necessity of the times the profits becoming almost wholly suspended, not only was it impossible to continue the manufactory, but St. Peter's itself was threatened with danger from its want of adequate revenues. It was proposed to charge the Imperial treasury with its support; but lest Napoleon, who was not fond of granting money for speculations, should not agree to the proposal, the Consulta found it necessary to varnish over the matter a little, by saying that the mosaic art should no longer be employed entirely for the embellishment of St. Peter's, but when patronized by the greatest of monarchs, would adorn the palace of the prince, and the edifices of Imperial Paris. "What a noble idea would it not be," said the Consulta, "to immortalize in mosaic the picture of the coronation painted by David, and the other three which are about to be executed by that great artist!" Thus cajoled, Napoleon gave his consent, and paid the funds necessary. It remained, since they had thus provided for the expences of the work itself, that they should

provide also for the workmen. Their manufactory being built against the hill of the Vatican, and partly under ground, was in consequence very unwholesome, and the artificers too often became unhealthy and frequently lost their sight. Besides this, the cases and shelves on which the smalts were kept were decayed, and the pictures which were brought there to be copied were spoiled by the damp. Thus had a fine picture of Camuccini's been recently destroyed to the regret of every one. The Consulta, therefore, decreed that they should remove the workmen into the apartments of the holy office.*

The Emperor having granted a premium of two hundred thousand francs to the artificers of Rome, the Consulta allotted it for the best spun or woven silk or wool; for the best bone lace; for the best beavers; for the best prepared furs; for the finest perfumes; the best earthenware, glass, crystal, or paper; also to those proprietors who should cultivate the greatest quantity and

* 'Can any circumstance more strongly mark the difference of the times than such an appropriation of the halls of the Inquisition?'

the best cotton; to the planter of the greatest number of olives; and to whomsoever should introduce the greatest number of useful plants. They also indulged in the whim of making sugar from grapes and the grain of Caffraria. But Pope Pius, who knew the character of his good Romans, shrugged his shoulders in ridicule, when he heard of these things in his prison at Savona, declaring that they might profitably foster in Rome the manufactures connected with the fine arts or with learning; but that it was time and labour lost to endeavour to encourage those of any other description, because the disposition of the people, their habits, and the climate, were alike unfitted to such pursuits.

The museums, which had been pillaged during the season of turbulence, were now preserved with care. Those precious master-pieces of art which adorned the convents,—and they were many and beautiful, were carefully guarded from injury. For this purpose a committee was created of intelligent men and enlightened judges: it consisted of the painter Lethier, Guattani,

De' Bonnefonde, the Abbate Fea, and Tofanelli, the conservator of the Capitol.

Whilst thus furthering the prosperity of modern Rome, they turned their thoughts also towards excavating the ancient city; at least such was the desire of the Consulta. France, potent and wealthy, was able to provide for the work; and the funds for excavating the most promising sites were actually furnished. In all probability the undertaking would have produced great results, if the military commotions which ensued had not frustrated the intention.

Napoleon spoke of visiting Rome; and if he had no real intention of going there, the expectation of his arrival produced the effect he desired. The Consulta selected palaces worthy of the residence of the Emperor—Castel Gandolfo for the country, the Quirinal for the city. The latter, grand and magnificent in itself, salubrious as to its site, and making a noble appearance on the side of the Strada Pia, was in all respects adapted for the Imperial court, beauty and salubrity being both united. They proposed planting trees about this palace, and opening

avenues to it, especially at the Porta del Popolo, to come out at the Trinita del Monte; to remove the cemeteries beyond the walls, and to drain the marshes. Prony, a Frenchman, and Fossombroni, an Italian, both famed for skill in hydraulics (their science equalling their reputation), visited them, and consulted in concert as to the mode of draining them. They effected, however, but little, on account of the untoward aspect of the times; and if the Pontine marshes did not grow worse under the French government, they certainly did not improve.

Such was at this period the state of things at Rome: one sovereign a prisoner at Savona, another, all-powerful at Paris; affliction ruled the moment, bright expectations cheered the future. The state became, by a strange caprice, a province of France, and was unable either to preserve its own ordinances, or to adopt those of another realm; while, split into opposing parties, the city mourned and complained; nor could the Consulta, however incessant its labours, give consolation or comfort.

New, strange, and lamentable occurrences

recall me to the kingdom of Naples. The domination of the English in Sicily was become odious to Caroline of Naples, who desired to govern of herself alone. Having lost all hopes of reconquering the kingdom on the main land, she desired at least to be mistress of the one which yet remained to her. Napoleon, who well understood the humours of men, and of women also, had penetrated the disposition of Caroline, and had, by his manœuvres, persuaded her that he was ready to second her intentions. A treaty was concluded between the Emperor and the Queen, by which it was agreed that Ferdinand should open the ports of Sicily to the soldiers of Napoleon, and permit them to occupy them, provided they drove out the English. Whilst these negociations were pending, Murat was seized with the desire of conquering Sicily, hoping that the severity of Caroline's government would procure him adherents amongst the malcontents, who would afford him effectual support when a favourable opportunity offered. The French troops were already stationed in Calabria Ultra, to which Napoleon, through jealousy

against the English, had consented, in order to prevent them making an attempt on Corfu. The Neapolitan army had marched to Calabria, and the coast from Scilla to Reggio was filled with soldiers; the naval forces of the kingdom likewise joined them, after having gallantly fought the English fleet, which, in order to prevent their passage, had attacked them in the gulf of Pizzo, at Cape Vaticano, and on the shores of Bagnara. All the communes on the Mediterranean shore were ordered to furnish armed vessels for the expedition against Sicily; and Murat, wishing to imitate at Scilla the proceedings of Napoleon at Boulogne, frequently embarked and disembarked the troops to make them expert in such operations. Every one thought that the attempt would be made; the majority trusting in the fortunes of Napoleon, and affirming that, after all, the strait of Messina was not more difficult to pass than the Rhine or the Danube; but, as the French troops were the chief hope of the expedition, Murat had entreated the Emperor to permit them to co-operate with the Neapolitans in the enterprize.

At this moment Napoleon was negociating with Caroline of Sicily; but, wrapping himself up in his usual ambiguities, his reply neither approved nor forbade the expedition: indifferent as to the result, whether the movement should be ultimately successful, or merely productive of alarm at the moment, he sent no order to his troops to co-operate in the attempt. Joachim, inflamed by an ardent desire of acquiring the island, persuading himself that he should find there numerous partisans, and should easily cause a general insurrection, resolved to make the attempt for himself, relying solely on his own forces. Five thousand Neapolitans, amongst whom was the regiment of Reale-Corso, left the neighbourhood of Reggio and Pentimela in the night time, and sailed towards Sicily, intending to land between Scaletta and Messina. At the same time Murat, standing, richly dressed, on the regal gondola, gave orders for the embarkation of the French troops, as if they were to join the expedition, although he knew —and they were still better informed on the subject than he was, that they did not dare to quit

the terra firma; but they had consented to aid the enterprise by a little show of activity, and by these idle demonstrations. The Neapolitans, under the command of General Cavagniac, landed at the destined spot; but no sooner had they set foot on the Sicilian shore, than, instead of uniting in some affair of importance, they dispersed for pillage. The peasants and militia seeing this, ran to arms in crowds, and easily overcame these disorderly and scattered soldiers. Those who were not killed were taken, and some of the captives fell a sacrifice to the infuriate rage of civil discord. On the report of the landing of the Neapolitans, the English hastened from the quarters at Messina; but when they arrived, the victory had been gained: after this affair, which in some degree diminished his reputation, Joachim giving up the hopes he had conceived, though not without some complaints against Napoleon, withdrew his soldiers from the coast, and publicly announced the termination of the Sicilian expedition. This intelligence was but too true. Its effects, however, were visible in Calabria, where miserable vestiges of the

violence of the Napoleonists remained. Between the destruction made in encamping, and by the soldiers in scouring through the country, vast tracts of olive grounds and of vine lands were laid waste, and these were the only riches the country possessed: thus the kingdom of Naples was devastated, whilst the conquest of Sicily was not effected.

During this time, the negociations between Napoleon and Caroline could not be entirely kept from the knowledge of the English, and they even intercepted some letters which afforded indubitable proofs of the intrigue. For this reason Caroline became so odious to them, and especially to Lord William Bentinck, who had been sent to Sicily, to secure the English domination in the island, that, in order to remove her from all share in the management of affairs, they confined her to a villa a few miles from Palermo, and shortly after obliged her to leave Sicily altogether—a singular occurrence, which shall be related in its own place.

When the troops were withdrawn, the Calabrese brigands issued anew from their hiding

places in swarms, and made the whole country one scene of pillage and murder; no road, however remote, no secluded hamlet, or detached field, was now secure. Divided into bands, each under the conduct of its own chief, they had portioned out the country amongst themselves. Carmine Antonio, and Mescio, with their followers, infested Mormanno and Castrovillari; Benincasa, Nierello, Parafante, and Gosia, the district of Nicastro; and the hamlets of Cosenza; Boja, Jacento Antonio, and Tiriola, Serra Stretta, and Catanzaro; Paonese, Marotta, and Bizzarro, the shores of the two seas and the extremities of Calabria Ultra. Bizzarro, especially, for a long time spread terror through the forest of Golano, and the roads from Seminara to Scilla. These were the consequences of ancient habits of ferocity, and of existing civil broils. It was feared that the political chiefs adverse to the government, the Carbonari especially, and their adherents, would again rise in arms, and occasion a serious insurrection. It was known that the Carbonari, always inimical to France, although for the moment quiet, would promote, not pillage

and assassinations, which, on the contrary, they strove to prevent, but enthusiasm and ardour, in order to turn them, when opportunity offered, against the nation they so keenly hated. It became necessary, therefore, from every consideration, for Murat to effect the entire extirpation of this pestilent brood of Calabrese malefactors, and to extinguish if possible the troublesome sect of Carbonari: many such attempts had been made in the time of Joseph, many also in the reign of Joachim himself, but always fruitlessly, not so much from the strength of the mal-contents, as from divided counsels and feeble measures. To effect the desired end, it was necessary to invest with unlimited authority a man who could prove himself inexorable towards evil doers. General Manhes, the aide-de-camp of Murat, had displayed singular energy in the pacification of the Abruzzi, and appeared to the King to be an officer capable of accomplishing the yet more difficult task of quieting Calabria. He therefore sent him there, with authority to do whatever he judged expedient. Agreeable in countenance, courteous in

manner, Manhes was not deficient in talent, but of a rigid and inflexible disposition; nor could Joachim have chosen any instrument more fitted to accomplish the end he had in view. Manhes reached Calabria, bearing in mind only the end he had to accomplish; and, provided the country were quieted, he cared little what means it might be necessary to employ. His mind was filled with the resolution to accomplish his task; and he did accomplish it, opposing ferocity by ferocity, cruelty by cruelty, stratagem by stratagem. If these means were generally necessary to bring back men to sanity, as they undoubtedly were in Calabria, I should despair of the human race. In the first place, Manhes was convinced, that to act in detail would have frustrated his design, because the brigands fled from the places where the most rigorous measures were pursued, to those where the authorities were more remiss in their proceedings; and thus alternately driven away and returning, they were always re-appearing. Secondly, he suspected that even the most wealthy amongst the proprietors, and the barons themselves who lived on their lands,

intimidated by the fear of robbery or assassination, granted shelter to this barbarous crew; and if by some means or other, they were not deprived of their secret lurking-places, all endeavours to subdue them would be vain: besides, the dispersed inhabitants of the country, not being protected against them, gave them not only shelter but provisions; and, thus between robbing for subsistence, and now hiding in secret places, now flying by secret paths, it was impossible to surprise them. Manhes perceived, therefore, that some extraordinary methods were necessary, in order to protect the well-disposed, and to expel the brigands, as the existing arrangements were insufficient. From this state of things, he declared that the severity of the judges would be enhanced at once, by the fears the brigands had excited, and the injuries they had committed. Steel against steel, and fire against fire, were necessary to cure this pestilence; and the remedy of fire and sword was applied by Manhes. To accomplish this end, he adopted four measures: he was furnished with an exact return of the malefactors, commune by commune, he separated

them entirely from the well-disposed, furnished the latter with arms, and appointed inflexible judges. Whoever takes an interest in observing the conduct of state policy will perceive in the proceedings of this prudent and rigid Frenchman, that the means he employed all squared with the end he proposed, and that he was not led astray by the chimeras and abstract notions which were characteristic of the age. He commanded every commune to furnish a list of the brigands who had belonged to it; he placed arms in the hands of the landholders, dividing them into bands. The husbandmen and the cattle were sent to the largest towns, which were guarded by regular troops; he suspended all agricultural labours, and decreed the punishment of death against whosoever should be found with provisions in the country, unless enrolled in the bands he had appointed. He sent forth armed bodies of proprietors, commune by commune, with an intimation that they were expected to bring in the brigands. Nothing was seen in the woods, on the mountains, and the plains, except civic bands hunting down the brigands, and

brigands flying before their pursuers. The rigid orders of Manhes were harshly executed: his subalterns seconded his endeavours, and not always with that just inflexibility which guided him, but too often with capricious ferocity. Infamous acts of cruelty were committed; a woman, who, ignorant of the recent ordinances, was taken when carrying the accustomed food to her son, who was labouring in the fields, was sentenced to be hanged. A young girl was cruelly tormented, because letters were found on her, addressed to suspected men. Nor was the blood of the Carbonari spared: Capobiando, their chief, betrayed to the troops by a pretended friend, was slain; a curate and his nephew, who had entered into the sect, were put to death, the uncle witnessing the execution of the nephew. Though I have already narrated so many horrible things, my mind recoils from the task of relating the cruelties that were practised against these people. The Carbonari, terrified at the slaughter made of them, retired to the most rugged mountains.

The brigands, in the mean time, either perished

from hunger in the deserted fields and woods; or fell in fierce combats with the civic guards, or, preferring speedy death to long-sustained anguish, slew themselves with their own hands, or yielded themselves up to the tribunals as a voluntary prey to those who thirsted for their blood. In whatever manner taken, they were conducted before extraordinary tribunals, composed of the intendants of provinces, and of the royal advocates; they were separated into various classes, and thence sent to the military commissions, created for the purpose by Manhes; they were hanged on gibbets, or suffocated with noisome exhalations in horrible dungeons. Ferocious wretches were they, who merited death, and deserved no pity. But not malefactors alone were put to death, but those also who favoured them, rich as well as poor; for if Manhes was inexorable, he was also incorruptible. Through the machinations, however, of those whose nature differed from his own, amidst many just punishments, some iniquitous acts were committed; and deeds of malice were perpetrated which I shudder to relate. Some innocent

men, who had been denounced by the brigands, were put to death; for some of the malefactors concluded their guilty career by deadly calumnies of the good and upright. Talarico, of Carlopoli, captain of the civic bands, a devoted and tried servant of the new government, was accused by a brigand, his ancient enemy, and was condemned to death, though all with tears implored his pardon. A woman called Parafante was arrested, for having, as they said, been the wife of the brigand of the same name, with all her relations, and was with them condemned to death. On the appointed day, they were all placed in a line, the unhappy woman first, her relations next, priests and executioners in the rear, and formed altogether a procession that I can find no adequate name for; the condemned wore caps painted with flames, and were dressed in the San Benito garment; they rode backwards on asses without saddles, and thus were conducted to the gallows, where a cruel death put an end to this fanatical and horrible mockery. Nor was death only inflicted by the appointed executioners; for the peasants, inflamed by rage,

and by the desire of vengeance, burning with fury against the brigands, insulted the dead with rude jests, and tore the living to pieces with their hands, forcing them from the executioners. The Calabrese brigands were to a man exterminated by Manhes: those who escaped the executioner perished with hunger. The numerous corpses which were found in old towers, or in deserted hamlets, or in the open fields, seemed even after death to breathe vengeance, rage, and ferocious cruelty; hunger had been their destroyer. The unwholesome dungeons to which the captives were committed, not unfrequently robbed the gallows of their prey, anticipating the executioner; the tower of Castrovillari, old, narrow, and unwholesome, saw multitudes perish in the deadly vapour of its fetid atmosphere.

The shocking effluvia prevented the guards from approaching; the dead bodies were not removed; the pestilence increased. Incited by anguish, and by a desire of ending their hopeless torments, the dying threw themselves on the dead, the healthy on the dying, tearing their

own flesh with their nails and teeth. The tower of Castrovillari became a loathsome pit of putrefied carcasses; and the noxious miasma spreading beyond its fatal walls, was for a long period perceptible. The heads and limbs of those who had been hanged, were stuck on stakes at regular distances, and for a long time gave a character of horror to the road from Reggio to Naples. The course of the river Crati was long marked by piles of mutilated bodies: its banks were then white, and remain so, perhaps, even yet, with disgusting masses of bleached bones. Thus the greater terror overcame the lesser; and Calabria, a circumstance scarcely credible, was rendered secure not only for the inhabitants but for travellers: the roads were opened to commerce, the labours of agriculture were resumed, the country changed its savage aspect for an appearance of civilization. Calabria stood in need of such purgation: Manhes effected it; and in that province his name will be for ever loaded by some with execrations, by others with benedictions.

CHAPTER VII.

Pius the Seventh a prisoner at Savona.—How treated.—His discussions with Napoleon concerning the execution of the Concordat and the institution of Bishops.—Reasons adduced by both parties for and against the power of the Roman Pontiffs to delegate spiritual authority.—The Pope shows himself not unwilling to institute the nominated Bishops at the end of six months, or to permit it to be done in his name by the metropolitans, excepting only from this concession the suburban bishops.—Council of Paris.—Brief of the 20th of September.—The Pope persists in refusing to resign his temporal sovereignty.—Threats used to intimidate him.—He is conducted from Savona to Fontainebleau.

By the concordat, Napoleon had confirmed his power. This measure had at once satisfied the wishes of the people, and enabled him to employ the authority of the clergy to restrain the philosophical party, who were ill pleased by his immoderate desire of power. Nor had he found any want of pliancy in the matter he had to

work upon; the ecclesiastics not only flew to obey his call, but offered themselves uncalled, many being excited to this by a sincere love of religion, many more by the promptings of ambition, and the hope of reward: nothing now remained but to dominate over the Romish religion itself, by the depression of the pontifical authority. This he ardently desired, for he was one who could not brook the existence of any power likely to come in competition with his own. For this purpose, having occupied the Marches, he had approached the pontifical seat; his soldiers, under pretence of the affairs of Naples, constantly showing themselves to the dismayed Romans. For the same purpose he had occupied Rome itself, and had carried the Pope captive to Savona, an unworthy return, certainly, for all the benefits Pius had conferred. Circumstances concurred to favour his designs: having allured the most considerable prelates by wealth and favour, he easily perceived that if he had formerly employed the Pope against the Port-Royal and Voltaire, he might now employ the prelates against the Pope himself: he looked

even beyond this; and already was it proposed that at the side of the high altar of such churches as were embellished with pictures, his image should be exposed for the adoration of the faithful. Where such power and greatness were combined, it seemed but a small step from the imprisonment of the pontiff to the extinction of the pontificate—from the subversion of the popedom to the creation of an universal autocrat. Freed from every fear by the triumphs the Danube had witnessed, he prepared himself for this new and perilous empire. The customs of Russia and of England came to his recollection, and he thought it a grievous hardship that he should not be what George and Alexander were. But he did not consider that the spirit of Catholicism is inflexible and unconquerable, and that it is yet more impossible to change than to extinguish it. According to the belief of the greater part of the faithful, the papal ordinances are inherent in the constitution of the Catholic religion, or, rather, the vitality of her inmost viscera.

The captive Pope reached Savona on the 15th

of August, 1809; whether by chance or purposely on this day the reader may judge, for it was the fête of Napoleon. On his arrival he was lodged in the house of one Sansoni, syndic of the city. The people crowded round from all parts to behold the pontiff. The agents of the police, however, observed with pleasure that, whether from fear or from a difference of sentiment, the multitude was here less fervent and less fanatical—for thus they termed their demonstrations of affection towards the pontiff, than they were in France, and that the presence of the captive Pope did not in the least affect their obedience to the government. The Imperial council discussed at length the expediency of permitting the Pope to be seen in public, whether to officiate in the church, or to bestow the paternal benediction. They feared the open expression of indignation if the pontiff were seen as a prisoner, and they dreaded secret dissatisfaction as still more dangerous, if he were to be entirely secluded. The opinion of those who advised his appearing prevailed, for the territory of Savona was strongly garrisoned with soldiers, the legion

of spies was yet more numerous, and the castle was near at hand to secure the prisoner from any attempt of the people in his favour. Until an express order should arrive from Napoleon, any audience with the Pope was forbidden, and no one was permitted to speak to him except in the presence of his guards. Shortly after, Prince Borghese, the governor of Piedmont and Liguria, received an order from Paris, instructing him to surround with soldiers the new palace of the prefecture, to which the Pope had been removed, closing all the entrances but one, and permitting none to visit it except the customary inmates. The Pope therefore held no audiences; whatever was done in his private apartments was watched by the inferior, and doubly watched by the superior spies, and men who were devoted to the Emperor were secretly placed amongst his servants and secretaries. Napoleon further commanded, through the medium of one Vincent, the superintendant of the Italian police at Paris, that whosoever visited the Pope should be narrowly watched, and that all the letters Pius received, all that he wrote, and all that were

written by any of his suite, should be copied and sent to the minister-general of police.

Lastly, Prince Borghese and the superintendant Vincent commanded that the person of the Pope should be entirely free; and this, if indeed it had meaning, will, to whomsoever has considered the preceding regulations, express nothing more than that he should not be bound with cords. Further, no Cardinal, except Spina, was permitted to reside at Savona; and, as they dreaded some secret consistory, Spina himself was not permitted to speak to the Pope except in presence of the guards, nor was he even suffered to send him certain delicacies for his table without an express licence from the government. An obscure individual in the service of the Pope, named Ostergo, was sent untried to the secret prison, for having written a note with some lead taken from a window. The Pope hesitated to name the persons he wished to have in his suite, when stimulated to do so by those who had the power to coerce the faithless as well as the faithful. He feared that his regard might expose to persecution those he esteemed; nor was this fear

groundless. Notwithstanding this, he named the prelate Doria Panfili, grand chamberlain; Soglia, chaplain; Porta, his physician; Ceccarmi, his surgeon; Moiraghi and Morelli, chamberlains in ordinary; one Campa, flower boy; and some others of inferior degree.

The Pope lived with great simplicity in his Savonese prison, nor did he ever display the least irritation, although he had so many just causes of complaint. He received with pleasure Count Chabrol, the prefect of Montenotte, because the Count showed him great courtesy, tempering, by the gentleness of the means he adopted, the harshness of the acts his Imperial master commanded. His courtesy and humanity were not, however, suffered to pass without severe reproofs from Paris. The Pope was invited to amuse himself by making excursions into the country around Savona (with an escort of guards, of course, understood); but he replied that he could know no enjoyment whilst the church was in affliction. The Emperor sent Count Sarmatoris, of Cherasco, to Savona, with a commission to superintend the Pope's household, for the purpose

of placing the arrangements of his table and the furniture of his palace on a scale of due magnificence, taking care at the same time to provide him with a suite of livery servants for his own peculiar service. I know not what suitable epithet to give to this Imperial mockery towards an imprisoned pontiff; neither can I understand why Count Sarmatoris, who was a well-disposed man, should have accepted the charge of executing it. He presented himself before the Pope, with courteous flatteries, and made the Imperial proffers, expressing a hope, that as his Holiness had approved his services at Paris, they might be pleasing to him even at Savona. Pius mildly replied, that the times were changed; then, as a sovereign prince, exterior pomps were consistent with his situation; now, as a captive, it became him to lay such things aside: absent from his own capital, in a foreign country, surrounded by armed guards, deprived of his most confidential and faithful servants and counsellors, he was but a prisoner—as a prisoner alone could he consider himself—as a prisoner would he be treated. When the chains which confined his own

person were unloosed—when he was replaced in his pontifical seat—when his cardinals were restored to him, then would he accept regal honours. Other things would be provided by the faithful; God himself, who never abandons his servants, would provide for his wants. This declaration, but in stronger language, as being addressed to a soldier, he repeated to General Cesar Berthier, who had been sent by Napoleon to Savona, in order to give the aid of arms to the labours of the spies.

I must here indulge in enlarging on the sentiments of the imprisoned Pope. Hugh Maret had endeavoured to intimidate him by angry declarations from Paris: he had ordered his satellites "to make the Pope and his attendants fully understand, that when that excommunication was issued, the evident intention of which was to excite the people to rebellion, and to raise the knife of the assassin to the breast of the Emperor, the pontifical government had done its worst, and had exhausted all its weapons. They were to be made aware of the consequences of that article of the treaty of peace with the Emperor

of Austria, by which he obliged himself to consent to all the changes which had been made or were to be made in Italy. They should reflect that it was equally to be deduced from the treaties of Amiens and Tilsit, that the Emperor Napoleon was empowered to do whatever he judged expedient to prevent the Pope from interfering in the temporal concerns or the internal administration of his dominions: their ears should be constantly accustomed to hear, that temporal have nothing in common with spiritual affairs, and that sovereigns derived their power not from the Pope, but from God; that the Gallican church had accepted as an immutable doctrine the declaration of the clergy of 1682; and that, finally, an excommunication was contrary to all the principles of the church of France. They should be reminded that Pius the Sixth, although torn from his pontifical seat—though his states were ruined—though religion was in his times banished from France—though the blood of the murdered bishops stained the altars, had not adopted the extreme resolution of using a weapon which religion, charity, policy, and reason equally

condemned." Thus did Maret, in the name of the Emperor Napoleon, preach religion and charity towards Pius the Seventh. But though the contest was so unequal, though his adversaries supported their arguments with the whole military force of Europe, the captive Pontiff was nevertheless not thus to be silenced, but to power opposed fortitude. He denied, that he had desired to excite the people to rebellion, having so expressed the excommunication, that submission and obedience to the temporal power, the inviolability of persons and of property, were especially enjoined. He also observed, that it was not his part to consider, in fulminating the excommunication, whether he had thereby consumed all his arms and his power; that he had only attended to do his duty, and let that have involved what it might, he trusted for the safety of the church to the providence of God. Finally, the ecclesiastical polity was not like that of temporal governments; the former was guided by truth and justice, the latter by human passions and interests. He concluded by saying, that "if the affairs in dispute were not quickly settled, and if

the Emperor Napoleon did not come to an agreement with the Holy See, the world should behold how much Pope Pius could effect." He gave no further explanation of his designs. These last words kept the palaces of St. Cloud and the Tuilleries in constant expectation. They recommended themselves anew to the care of spies, and urged their utmost vigilance.

Nor did the Pope discontinue these protestations, or from withholding his dissent to the compact which the potentates of Europe had entered into. He expressed his persuasion, that the object in view was not to separate temporal from spiritual concerns, but to effect the ruin of the one by means of the other; that of this the temporal powers would find cause to repent; for similar experiments had already proved injurious to those who had made them, especially to Austria. "As head and supreme ruler of all religious and spiritual matters, he ought not, and he would not, remain inactive under existing circumstances; his duty as well as his inclination was to use the whole weight of his pontifical power against such pernicious designs; placing his

hopes in God, who would supply the deficiencies of his weakness. He proceeded to explain that sovereigns are elected by the people, and that after their election they hold their power from God. The privilege which bishops and popes once possessed of placing the crown, in the ceremony of the coronation, on the head of a sovereign, had been misinterpreted; for this ceremony meant nothing more, except that after the election made by men, the power came from God himself: he alone it was who, by the hands of his ministers, gave the crown to sovereigns." Such were the doctrines of the Roman school, explained, subsequent to the celebrated Gravina, by Spedalieri. The pontiff farther expressed his conviction, "that as things here below are continually exceeding their just limits, as times and customs are continually altering and shifting, reform and change become frequently necessary. Rome had ever shown the utmost pliability, consenting willingly to necessary reforms: he only objected to rash and desultory resolutions, requiring a prudent and deliberate mode of proceeding. Thus Austria, after having

committed some errors of fatal consequence to herself, had, to her great profit, retraced her steps under Pius the Sixth of sacred memory; he, however, blamed and loudly condemned that licentious desire of innovation which prevailed in those times—a desire which, instead of procuring reform, at once both polluted and destroyed.

"As for the four propositions of the Gallican church, he affirmed, that they were opinions still unsanctioned, and that Innocent the Eleventh, to whom, as Pontiff, it belonged to judge the right of them, had been on the point of condemning them; that the clergy of France, being not the universal church, but merely a part of the church, had not the right of judging of itself of the power of the Apostolical See, nor of limiting it, nor of modifying it. He admitted without difficulty, the first proposition, which consists in this, that God has given to the church the government of things spiritual, not of things temporal; that sovereigns and princes are not subject in temporals to the ecclesiastical power; nor can it, by the authority of the keys of St.

Peter, depose sovereigns, or absolve subjects from their oaths of allegiance. Passing from this to what was the subject of the controversy, Pius separated the right of deposing sovereigns and of releasing subjects from their oaths, from that of fulminating excommunications against princes, which they might have incurred, according to the laws and canons of the church. Consequently, the doctrine of the Gallican church did not affect this point, nor had that church ever pretended that the Pope had not authority to excommunicate those who merited it. He had, in truth, excommunicated Napoleon, but not deposed him, nor absolved his subjects from their oaths: if, however, from the effects of the excommunication, any of his subjects departed from their allegiance, this was not to be imputed to the Pope, who justly punished, but to the prince, who falsely prevaricated. This doctrine agreed with that of Bossuet (although he did not in all things assent to the opinions of that prelate), and he was fully persuaded that the assembled clergy of France would accept and approve it. He was aware, that in

times past, both bishops and popes had freed subjects from their oaths; but only when sovereigns had been deposed by the states and nobles of the realm, so that the dispensation was nothing more than the consequence of the deposition ordained by those who possessed such right. The deposition, therefore, did not proceed from the dispensation, but the dispensation from it; and was the work not of the popes but of the temporal power. Then coming to the alleged example of Pius the Sixth, he explained it by saying that the tempest had fallen suddenly on that excellent pontiff, when he was old and paralytic, and had no longer any internal strength; for the weakness of his body (already resembling death, rather than life) had injured the readiness of his intellect: but to judge from the conduct of his whole life, it was not to be doubted that he would have resented the innovations Napoleon had made in ecclesiastical affairs, and his recent usurpation of the patrimony of St. Peter, even more strongly than his successor had done. It was true, Clement the Seventh had been harshly treated,

but that was a persecution which had quickly come to an end; and the very people who had persecuted him, and chased him away from his papal seat, had humbled themselves before him, and besought his forgiveness. Their actions had responded to their words, for he was quickly restored to his apostolical chair. Napoleon, on the contrary, obstinately persisting in his system of persecution and violence, not only made no demonstration of any intention to retract what he had done to the prejudice of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or of restoring the patrimony of St. Peter which he had usurped, but pertinaciously affirmed, and openly declared, that he would of himself alone, without the intervention of the pontifical authority, change the sees and parishes, violate the privileges of the pontificate as to the nomination of the bishops, and keep enslaved Rome in his own hands."

Then, resorting to the example of Pius the Sixth, "he observed that he had had to do with the Directory, which not being of the Catholic church, neither obeyed nor acknowledged its laws; but that he, Pius the Seventh, con-

tended with the Emperor [Napoleon], who, in his character of the eldest son of the church, which he still assumed, and of which he boasted, was subjected to all its rules and laws. Never had any of his predecessors been reduced to the straits in which he was placed. As to the patrimony of St. Peter, he had sworn to defend it even to the shedding of blood, and this vow he had determined to fulfil. The canons had decreed, that whoever injured or attacked the said patrimony, incontinently incurred the ecclesiastical censures; the Emperor Napoleon had confessed himself subject to these when he professed the Catholic faith; and in fulminating these censures, he (Pius) had fulfilled that duty which the ecclesiastical laws, established by the universal church, had commanded. Not only ought he to have acted as he had done, but it was impossible for him to have acted otherwise. Much did he grieve and lament in the innermost recesses of his paternal bosom, that the measures which had been taken might tend to the injury of France, his well-beloved daughter, towards whom his love had flowed

so abundantly; yet she would judge which was to be preferred, a Pope faithless to his vows, or one who strictly obeyed the dictates of his conscience; an innocent and oppressed Pontiff, or a guilty and prevaricating Emperor: no man could hesitate in his decision. He yet recollected with infinite joy the grateful welcome, the affectionate concourse of the people, when he had visited that noble realm, in order to discharge an office that had then portended any thing but ruin. He remembered how, amidst the immense array of arms and soldiers, a humble defenceless priest had found place through the influence of French piety, solely because the Catholic community was represented in his person. He remembered, that where the first potentates of Europe hastened to present themselves, if not actually as suppliants, at least as humble inferiors, opinion alone, founded on the universal consent of the nations devoted to God, devoted to his vicar on earth, devoted to the Apostolic See, had exercised such influence, that he, powerless amongst the most potent of the earth, had obtained the first and the most honourable

place. Might honour, might contentment, might felicity, then, be the portion of France! As for himself, mindful of her piety, he would have done and would have consented to every thing not absolutely impossible, in order to enable her to enjoy that peace of conscience which her merits had justly deserved."

Napoleon, whose wont it was to act first, and afterwards to win or force consent, now desired that the Senatus-consultum of the union of the Roman state to his empire should be carried into effect by the consent of the Pope himself. He knew that if the pontiff were to accept the proposed conditions, making himself an inhabitant of Paris and his pensioner, he would have been obliged in the end to consent to whatever he chose as to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction; because, as the power of the pontiff was founded on opinion alone, whenever it should be degraded in public estimation, it would lose its only support; and certainly Pius would in some degree have degraded himself, if, instead of living with splendour as a sovereign at Rome, or with honour as a prisoner at Savona, he had consented to

reside as a subject at Paris. On this account, therefore, the Imperial agents laboured incessantly by the most pressing solicitations to persuade him to renounce his temporal power, to accept the two millions, and inhabit the archiepiscopal palace at Paris. At this period the power of Napoleon certainly seemed immovable. The peace of Tilsit—his marriage with the Archduchess Maria Louisa—his victorious, invincible, and innumerable army, appeared to afford it an unassailable foundation. No hope of recovering his lost power remained to the Pope: he knew it, he declared it, he believed it; yet conscience triumphed. Pius rejected the Imperial proffers. He affirmed, that "he was well aware of the machinations that were in progress—that he had penetrated their designs even at the period when he went to Paris to crown Napoleon; that even then the mischief was brooding; even then were they preparing the archiepiscopal palace for the residence of the popes. He had clearly seen that even then the idea had been conceived of making the popes vagrants; and perhaps of making them also the first almoners of the

emperors. Popes of France, not popes of Christendom, were desired. He protested against the Parisian palace; it would be but another prison. Not the temporal power, but St. Peter himself, had fixed his seat at Rome. This he had shown by visiting the ever to be venerated city; he had shown it by dwelling there; he had shown it by his martyrdom;—the blood of the apostle had indicated and had sanctified the apostolical seat. His successor Pius would have that or none; nor ever would he give his consent to undoing that which Christ the Redeemer himself had done, through the instrumentality of his servant Peter. He would neither tender an oath, nor accept of a pension: he should appear vile in his own eyes, vile to the world, were he to make the one, or receive the other. By the Senatus-consultum was the church enslaved; they were endeavouring to execute the machinations of the philosophers, and to reduce the Pope to the same state of subordination to which the bishops were reduced in France. They evidently aimed at the overthrow of religion! Not being able to make the attack directly in

front, they assailed her in flank. Never were the priests of paganism so dependent on the temporal power, as the christian priests of the present day: they now sought to place the yoke on the neck of the Pope also. He presumed that such designs did not proceed from the ecclesiastical council assembled at Paris; because, if that were the case, he would quickly separate it from his communion. In the midst of such convulsions he trusted that God would grant salvation to his church. Finally, he would no longer acknowledge as his eldest son the usurper of the possessions of the Holy See. Already had he suffered too much—already was his patience despised. The Roman See could not act as other potentates did. Temporal powers, according to circumstances, could resign a part of their rights in the hope of regaining them when opportunity offered; but the popes acted in obedience to conscience alone. The treaties of spiritual Rome were sacred, and were full of good faith."

Thus did Pius the Seventh, when tormented by the solicitations of the instruments of Napoleon, express his dissent. The records of the

age have left no doubt as to what it was his desire further to do in times so disastrous. His resolution was to demand unceasingly the restoration of the temporal possessions of the Holy See, but never to do any thing which might tend towards recovering them by force: "he asked only to be set at liberty, and freely suffered to return to fulfil the papal functions in Rome itself. There he would fulfil them even in a grotto, even in the catacombs: if it were necessary to undergo the poverty and the dangers of the primitive church, he would submit himself to both in perfect resignation; nor would this even be a hardship to him who never had been so happy as when simply an obscure monk, he had taught the doctrines of theology in a humble cloister."

Thus did the mind of the Pontiff support itself, as to his own individual fate; but bitterly did he deplore the revived spirit of discord. He deplored it principally as lacerating the very bowels, the very vitals of Catholic Christendom; he deplored it as impeding the return of the dissenters to the faith, which he till then had

hoped," believing that some of the countries addicted to the doctrines of Luther were about to return to the bosom of the church. Of the Calvinists alone, who had wished to introduce democratical ordinances into the ecclesiastical government, had he despaired, reputing them the most hardened in heresy."

Such were at this period the tribulations of Pius the Seventh; but the time was fast approaching in which his virtue was to be exposed to yet severer trials. Hitherto they had endeavoured to terrify him with soldiers—to watch him by spies—to intimidate him by seclusion—to agitate him by threats, and next, they assaulted him by the arguments and the persuasions of those who they believed were most likely to influence his deliberations, either from his regard for ancient friendship, or his respect for the character with which they were invested. The number of sees, which the Pope had for several years refused to fill up, had caused a deficiency in the number of the bishops, which was beginning to be severely felt throughout the Catholic communion, the condition of the dioceses growing

daily worse. In consequence of the refusal of the bull of investiture, many sees were vacant in France, as well as in Italy and Germany; other vacancies were daily occurring, and the episcopal order was in danger of extinction. The Emperor, having by the concordat given confirmation to the Romish doctrines, could not avoid recurring to the pontifical authority. He determined, in the first instance, to employ the influence of Cardinal Caprara, Archbishop of Milan and Legate of the Holy See at Paris, whose pliability he well knew. The Cardinal wrote to the Pope, to beseech him to grant the bulls for the vacant sees to the bishops named by the Imperial ministers; adding, that Napoleon consented to the entire omission of his own name, provided that he did not insert the clause 'de motu proprio', or some other equivalent.

The Pope replied, "that he was astonished that Caprara could propose measures to which it was evident that he could not reconcile his mind. Never had the apostolical clergy admitted similar proposals from the laity. In fine, to whom would the bulls be conceded, if he granted them

to the instances of the ministers? Were not they, the Emperor himself, the organs of his decrees, the instruments of his power? After so many fatal innovations in religion made by the Emperor, of which he had so often and so uselessly complained; after the vexations to which so many of the ecclesiastics of the pontifical state had been subjected; after the exile of the bishops, and the major part of the cardinals; after the imprisonment of Cardinal Pacca, after the usurpation of the patrimony of St. Peter; after having been himself attacked by armed men, in the very *penetralia* of the pontifical palace; after having been conducted by force under a strict guard from one territory to another, in such a manner that the bishops of various places could not approach him, or speak to him, except in the presence of witnesses; after so many sacrilegious acts, passing, for the sake of brevity, over an infinite number, against which the general councils and the apostolical constitutions fulminated anathemas; what else could he have done except to conform himself, as was his duty, to the decrees of those councils, to the objects of

those constitutions? How then could he to-day acknowledge in the author of so many insults the right of nominating the bishops? how consent that he should use it? How could he act thus without making himself guilty of prevarication, without contradicting his previous declarations, without giving serious scandal to the faithful, and cause to believe that, prostrated and subdued by misfortune, he had become so abject as to be capable of betraying his conscience and of doing that which he had himself solemnly condemned? The Cardinal should weigh this matter—should ponder on these arguments, not in the spirit of mere human wisdom, but prostrate in the sanctuary; then would he perceive how true, how incontrovertible they were. He called God to witness, how much in the midst of this cruel tempest he desired to fill the vacant sees of the church of France,—of that church, his best beloved, his supreme delight; with how much pleasure would he adopt any means which should permit him at once to fulfil his pastoral office, and his inviolable duties. But how could he act alone; how could he determine, uncoun-

selled, in an affair of such importance? He had been deprived of all his counsellors, deprived of the power of communicating with them; not one was left to him with whom he could consult in so thorny a matter. If the Emperor were truly affectionate towards the Catholic church, he would begin by a reconciliation with its head; he would do away the fatal innovations; restore to the Pope his liberty, his throne, and his officers; he would restore to him, not *his* possessions, but the patrimony of St. Peter; he would restore to the church of the apostle, that pastor of whom she had been widowed from the days of the Savonese captivity; he would send him back the forty cardinals, torn from his bosom by his harsh commands; he would recall the exiled bishops to their diocese. As for himself, amidst all his great tribulations, he would earnestly and incessantly pray for the author of all their evils, beseeching the mercy of that God who holds all hearts in his hand; he would implore him to inspire the hard heart of Napoleon with better councils: but if by the secret decrees of Him who is omniscient and omni-

potent, it were otherwise ordered, he would weep for the misfortunes of the present hour, certain that none could impute blame to him.

During this time Napoleon, in order to intimidate the Pope, and to make him consent to his wishes, from the fear that if he did not he would act for himself, had convened an ecclesiastical council at Paris, summoning to it Cardinals Fesch and Maury, the archbishop of Tours, the bishops of Nantes, of Treves, of Evreux, of Vercelli; and Emery, the superior of the seminary of St. Sulpice, at Paris. Through Bigot de Preameneu, the chief of their officiality, a man of benevolent and moderate character, who, notwithstanding, acted with great warmth in this affair against the Pope, the Emperor proposed to them certain questions, on which they were to disclose their opinions. The greater part, if not all of these prelates, were adverse to the doctrines of Port-Royal; but fortune, and the ambition of Napoleon, had brought them to the distressing alternative of either giving sentence against the Apostolic See, in conformity to the doctrines of that famous

school, or incurring the displeasure of the Emperor. One only reply ought they to have given, which was, that if he replaced the Pope in the situation in which he was when the concordat was signed, and that if Pius then refused to grant the bulls, they would thereupon declare their opinions: but this they did not do; for these were not the times of St. Ambrose. Certainly, if the Pope ought to be secured against princes in matters religious and spiritual, princes ought to be secured against the Pope in matters temporal and political. This was the end for which the Pope was required to grant the bulls of investiture in a given time, excepting such canonical impediments as might be objected to in the nominated bishops; but the imprisonment of the Pope rendered all negociation impossible; and Napoleon desired not only to be independent himself, but also to dominate over others. The questions proposed to the ecclesiastical council were as follows:—

"Was the head of the church invested with despotic authority? Could the Pope, from temporal reasons, refuse his intervention in

spiritual affairs? Was it becoming, that prelates and theologians chosen in the small places of the Roman territory, should judge of the intents of the universal church? Was it not necessary that the Consistory, the peculiar council of the Pope, should be composed of prelates of all nations? If not, the Emperor had not united in his own person all the rights which had appertained to the kings of France, the dukes of Brabant, and the kings of Sardinia, the dukes of Tuscany, and others. Had the Emperor Napoleon or his ministers violated the concordat? Had they improved or deteriorated the condition of the clergy since the concordat? If the sovereign of France had not violated the concordat, could the Pope capriciously refuse the investiture to the nominated bishops and archbishops, and thus suffer religion to be lost in France, as he had done in Germany, when the sees had been vacant for ten years. The government of France, not having violated the concordat, if the Pope, on his part, refused to execute it, the intention of the Emperor was to consider it as abrogated; but in this case what

was it best to do for the benefit of religion?" To these demands, which especially regarded France and Italy, another was added for Germany; "the Emperor Napoleon, as being the most potent of Christian princes, the sovereign of Germany, the heir of Charlemagne, the Emperor of the west, the eldest son of the church, desiring to know what it was advisable for him to do for the benefit of religion in that part of Europe? Tuscany also requires a new division of dioceses; and if the Pope refuses to give his co-operation, what measures ought the Emperor to take?

"Lastly, the bull of excommunication had been printed and distributed throughout Europe. What measures was the Emperor to take in order to prevent the popes in times of disturbance and calamity from going into similar excesses, which were so contrary to the spirit of christian charity, to the honour and the independence of the throne?"

In the mean time Napoleon, constrained by necessity—for the vacancy of the sees began to disturb the consciences of the devout, resolved,

by the advice of those who were employed in the arrangement of ecclesiastical affairs; to employ a remedy, which it was thought would give time to await a definitive arrangement with the Holy See. He had heard that on the death of a bishop, the episcopal jurisdiction was transferred to the chapter of the cathedral, and to that appertained the power of appointing vicars-general to rule the diocese during the vacancy of the bishopric. Napoleon was further informed that by the ancient usages of France, the chapters on which, by the bishop's death, his episcopal power had devolved, could confer that same power on whomsoever the sovereign named to the vacant see. This last expedient was suggested to him by the ecclesiastical council; but at the same time the council had tempered the proposition by declaring that the expedient could only be temporary, and ought to be adopted only in the last extremity; that solely to prevent the episcopal order from becoming extinct in France, ought the chapters to delegate authority to the nominees; and that necessity ceasing, it behoved to return to more usual methods; for

although these nominated and delegated bishops had power to rule the dioceses, they could not exercise all the plenitude of the episcopal authority; for if they had the jurisdiction they had not the ordination;—that the instituted bishops could perform certain functions which the delegated bishops could not, although the salvation of the faithful and the full and perfect government of the dioceses required in them the full episcopal authority. Finally, it was not becoming that the bishops should long continue to govern the dioceses as simple delegates of the chapters; greater dignity—greater independence was required by the bishops, ere the proper fruits could be received from their ministry."

This condition, that the bishops should act as delegates, certainly militated against the inclinations of Napoleon's arbitrary character; for he wished that the heads in every branch of administration should be masters, not servants. Nevertheless, he deemed it important to gain time, and therefore he resolved to avail himself of the medium proposed by the ecclesiastical government until more favourable news should

reach him from Savona. There were, both in France and in French Italy, dioceses which had been long vacant, and which were ruled by the vicars of the chapters. It was necessary for these vicars to resign, in order that the chapters should delegate the episcopal authority to the nominees of the Emperor, as there could not be two delegates. The Imperial government endeavoured to effect this, and hence arose circumstances of no small importance. Napoleon had nominated the prelate Dejean, the brother of one of his ministers, to the bishopric of Asti, in Piedmont; the vicars appointed by the chapter refused, however, to resign. Enraged at this opposition, Napoleon decreed that the number of the canons should be reduced to six, that the benefices of the suppressed canons should be confiscated, and their contumacy prosecuted as an act of high treason. Bigot de Preameneu intimated further that the Emperor had determined to confiscate the property of all bishoprics in which the seeds of rebellion sprang up. Napoleon had nominated Osmond, bishop of Nancy, a man of dignified manners, and of the most

polished eloquence, to the see of Florence; but the Pope wrote an imperative order to the vicars not to resign, declaring Osmond illegitimate by the canons. The natural consequences followed: Osmond could never live in peace at Florence.

Napoleon was destined by Heaven to suffer the mortification of having his peace disturbed in the very capital of his empire, by the prisoner of Savona. He had nominated Cardinal Maury archbishop of Paris, in lieu of Cardinal Fesch, who had been also nominated, but would not accept that see; and, charmed with the splendour of the see of Paris, Maury accepted the appointment. The Holy Father received advice of this from Cardinal Dipietro, who, though exiled to Samur, had arranged an admirable police of his own. Pius immediately wrote a brief to the chapter of Paris, admonishing them of their duty, and censuring the culpable audacity of Cardinal Maury. He pronounced him an intruder, and declared his temerity unpardonable. "He had disobeyed the sacred canons, the decretals of the popes, and all the laws of ecclesiastical discipline: the vicars were, therefore, to hold all his

acts as null and void. The intruder had no qualification; no authority, no title was to be acknowledged in him: he was bound to the church of Montefiascone; the Holy See alone could free him from this obligation."' These resolves of the Pontiff they were ordered to communicate to the Cardinal, and were to apprize the Pope of the execution of them. In the mean time, Maury, who was not a man to be discouraged at the very first onset, nor to be put out of countenance by reproaches, wrote to inform the Pope of his nomination, and of his acceptance of the archiepiscopal see of Paris. Pius replied that he was astonished at his audacity; and that his *grief* even exceeded his amazement. "It was an unlooked-for and deplorable circumstance, he exclaimed, that he should have become so different from himself, as now to abandon that church which he had so worthily protected in the calamitous times of the revolution! Has then the temporal power," he continued, "so far triumphed that it may institute to the government of the church whomsoever it selects? Shall the ecclesiastical liberty be destroyed?—

shall the elections become invalid?—shall schism be introduced? Such would be the effects, such the results, of the detestable example the Cardinal had given. Therefore, he commanded, he prayed, he conjured him, incontinently to resign the see of Paris, and to disburthen himself of the Imperial gifts; otherwise he would proceed rigorously against him."

In the chapter of Paris, opinions were divided: some loved the empire better than the church, and some loved the church better than the empire; but the first were more numerous than the second; those accepted Maury, these rejected him. Among the latter, Paul Dastros, a canon and vicar-general, taking the opportunity of sending certain dispensations to the bishop of Savona, despatched with them a supplication to the Pope, requesting instructions from him how he was to act in the present conjuncture. The Holy Father, in his reply, again pronounced Maury an intruder and a rebel, a man of intolerable audacity; and he commanded Dastros, in virtue of the sacred duty of obedience, instantly to show his letter

to the Cardinal, and to enjoin him to desist from his rash enterprise.

Rovigo, who knew every thing, knew this: he told it to the Emperor. Napoleon was enraged at it. In the first place, he caused Dastros to be suddenly arrested, and, according to custom, consigned to the state prison. He then poured forth such reproaches and such threats against Portalis, a councillor of state, because the Pope's letter to Dastros had come under cover to him, that the poor youth returned to his own house, weeping and terrified. At Savona, affairs became pressing; the police diligently searched the portfolios of the Pope's suite. They searched the desks of Paolo Campa, Giovanni Soglia, Carlo Porta, the prelates Doria and Maggiolo, and lastly, they searched Andrea Morelli, Moiraghi, and Targhini, cooks and valets. They found letters from the Pope, respecting the controversies at Asti, Florence, and Paris; others from Dipietro, with petitions for dispensations, directions for the conduct of the Romans, and descriptions and attestations of miracles. The iron gates of Fenestrella opened to receive

Morelli, Soglia, Moiraghi, and Ceccarini, a surgeon, and Bertoni, a valet. One Petroncini, a servant of Doria, was also placed in secret confinement. Porta escaped with a serious admonition, and an intimation that if he meddled in these matters again, it would be so much the worse for him. Doria was sent to reside with his own family at Naples, with an imperative command not to presume to look behind him. Nor could Dipietro escape the Imperial wrath: arrested at Semur, his exile was changed to imprisonment.

Having disposed of the inferiors, Rovigo and Napoleon consulted together as to what was to be done with the Pope. If the others had committed any fault against Napoleon, the Pope they thought had committed yet greater, and from him greater danger was to be apprehended. They could not comprehend how, amidst the thick darkness with which they had so carefully surrounded the pontiff, an aperture had been found through which a ray of light had penetrated. The prefect of Montenotte received some tokens of the Imperial wrath. Bigot de Preameneu began to thunder with the fiercest

rage against the Pope. "The Emperor," he said, "knew that the Pope had written to the chapter of Florence, not to confer authority on the archbishop he had nominated. His Majesty considered this action a serious offence? Was the Pope then desirous of producing universal confusion? would he not even permit the dioceses to be for a time governed by the prelates whom the Emperor judged worthy of his confidence, and to whom, according to established usage, the chapters conferred the administration of the vacant sees? Could the Pope condemn a temporary arrangement, which it was in his power to end at any moment by granting the bulls? Did he believe that the Emperor would be subordinate to a chapter, so that a vicar whom the said chapter might have elected, should not require to be acknowledged by him? and if not acknowledged, or if superseded, could he still preserve the right of exercising functions, at once temporal and spiritual? A bishop canonically instituted could not nominate a vicar-general, without the intervention of an Imperial decree; were the chapters possessed of greater privileges

than the bishops? Would not the subjects of the Emperor who composed the chapters render themselves culpable if they chose another vicar than the one their sovereign indicated to them? Ought not a vicar so chosen to cease of himself to exercise the office for the peace of the church? or if this motive—stronger certainly than the arbitrary will of the Pope, should not induce him to do so, the will of the sovereign would deprive him of the power of acting, and if he constituted himself a rebel, he must bear the penalty of his rebellion. The Pope had seen the confusion which had been produced by the instructions—which he had no right to give, as to the form of an oath from a subject to his sovereign; nor could he possibly be ignorant of the consequences which might result from his letter to the chapter of Florence. No violence, no insult from the Pope would the Emperor suffer to pass with impunity. He was, notwithstanding, ready to come to an agreement, if the Pope would write to him and inform him what his wishes were; but if, on the contrary, he persisted on one hand in leaving the church

without instituted bishops, and on the other in interfering with the canons, and exciting them to rebellion against their sovereign, his Majesty would no longer acknowledge in these acts the functions of the pontifical government, whose spirit is peace and charity; he should for the future see under the most venerable title only an arrogant enemy; he should be obliged to deprive him of the means of injuring, by interdicting all communication with the clergy of his empire, and to isolate him as a dangerous personage. The prelate Doria could expect no other fate than that of Cardinal Pacca." I know not from what impulse of respect these last words were made to threaten, not Pius, but Doria; but they clearly intimated that what was said of Doria the Pope should apply to himself.

When the affair of Dastros was discovered, the irritation of the government increased beyond measure. The Parisian ministry declared, that the letters of the Pope were a fountain of rebellion; that he waved the torch of discord around; he talked of concord, and he excited discord. The prefect of Montenotte was com-

manded by the Emperor himself to prevent the transmission of all letters to or from the residence of the Pope: he was also commanded to speak more resolutely to the Pope himself, and to sound in his ears, "that after the excommunication he had fulminated, after his conduct at Rome (in which he persisted at Savona), the Emperor would treat him as he deserved: the age had become so enlightened, that it could clearly distinguish between the doctrines of Jesus Christ, and those of Gregory the Seventh."

Threats were followed up by acts: from spleen, and from the hope that terror would extort concession, the Emperor had commanded that all external pomp should be banished from the pontifical residence. These rigid commands were diligently executed: Prince Borghese deprived the Pope of his carriages; deprived him of Sarmatoris, and of his other officers; suppressed every exterior mark of respect; interdicted the use of pen and ink; intimated to him, by the order of the Emperor, that he was prohibited from communicating with any church of the empire, or with any subject of the Emperor,

under the penalty of disobedience, as well for him as for them; that he who had preached rebellion, he whose soul was dyed in gall, ceased to be the organ of the church; that, since he could do nothing wisely, he should be made to know that the Emperor was sufficiently powerful to do as his ancestors had done, and depose the Pope.

They thought at Paris that commands acquired increased force from repetition. Therefore Bigot de Preameneu again desired that the Pope should be informed that, on his account, the cardinals and vicars general had lost their liberty, and the canons their prebends; that his secret machinations were unworthy of his office; that he would be the cause of misfortune to all those who had dealings with him; that the declared enemy of the Emperor ought to keep himself at rest; and as he chose to style himself a prisoner, he should act as if he were truly a captive, nor attempt any correspondence or communication with any one; that it was a great misfortune to Christendom to have a Pope thus ignorant of what was due to sovereigns;

finally, that the peace of the state should not be disturbed, and that the necessary acts should be effected without him.

Besides, the commands of the minister of the officiality and of the governor of Piedmont, as the whole Napoleonic government was set in motion against the priest of Savona, orders were issued from the banks of the despotic and inquisitorial Seine, to watch the pontifical residence within and without. They examined every thing—they analysed every thing; nothing, however trifling, could transpire, or, to use the very official words, could filtrate without the knowledge of the police. They watched what was important; with the same jealousy they watched what was insignificant: they did not give implicit faith to all, but only to the most confidential. If any one gave false intelligence, he was punished; if true, he was rewarded. The investigation was vigilant, constant, but invisible, as various as the forms of Proteus. The agents were of all languages, of all classes, of all trades; various and infinite the pretexts, but always natural; for there was to be no

alembic seen, lest it should call attention to the alchemist. They were commanded to put in practice every species of craft, every kind of stratagem, every sort of trick. They were to surpass in cunning (these were the very words of the letters) even the priests, not excepting the most mischievous and artful. They were especially to watch the road from Savona to Turin, for that was the infectious quarter: they were carefully to examine foot-passengers, and to scan them diligently. Pretexts are never wanting to evade suspicion: now they were in pursuit of a vagabond, now of a fugitive galley slave; now were seeking a deserter, and now a condemned thief; a slight excuse served to conceal the truth. In brief, the territory of Savona was desolated by the police. Wherever there were general assemblies of men of any rank or condition, high or low, the police endeavoured to enlist on the side of the government those who were most esteemed and most in repute for eloquence, instigating them to affirm that the Pope was wrong and the Emperor right; that Napoleon loved religion better than Pius

did. They intrigued also to procure the aid of the sacristies and the confessionals. The curates and the constitutional priests were given to understand that their obedience and submission should not remain unnoticed, or unrewarded. If any canon, or any regular who had returned to secular life, felt an emotion either of pity or compunction, the precepts of self-interest were quickly sounded in his ears, and he was intimidated at once by hints of the loss of his pension, and of the omniscience of the police. If, despite of all this, any one proved rebellious, a residence was assigned to him which much diminished his refractory disposition. In fine, they courted the ecclesiastics in public and in private by every species of courtesy, recommending those to the minister of the officiality who, by precept and example, most strenuously advocated the doctrine of obedience, teaching that all temporal power comes from God, and that the gospel enjoins submission to princes. They were required to imbue their flocks with the conviction, that the Emperor never deviated from the maxims which regulated his government; his boundless munificence always

rewarding those who faithfully and zealously served him; his inflexible justice invariably punishing the calumniator, the rebel, and the disseminator of schism and discord.

These were the measures employed by the adherents of Napoleon to segregate the Pope from mankind, and to prevent any one from knowing, or saying, or doing, aught that militated against his will. The skill displayed was certainly exquisite; a fit study for him who desired only to govern in consonance to the despotism of his own uncontrolled self-will. The Emperor seeing that neither persuasion, nor threats, nor arts of intimidation, nor strict imprisonment, could bend the soul of the Pontiff, and believing that popular opinion would not, until every other method had previously been tried, admit of his making, by his own authority alone, so great an innovation as that by which the bishops of France, and of the other realms subject to him, should dispense with canonical institutions from the Apostolic See, he resolved to make a more efficient use of the ecclesiastical council assembled at Paris. He

was persuaded, that an army of ecclesiastics of rank and learning would strongly operate on the minds of the people in his favour, in case a necessity should arise for bursting the ties which united the episcopacy of France to the Holy See.

He was also resolved to adopt another measure, to which he was chiefly instigated by the ecclesiastical council: this was to convoke a national council at Paris, in order to consider of the exigencies of the times, and to suggest the measures that might be most expedient in consequence. Besides the great authority of such a council, this measure was desirable, from the hope that the Italian bishops also would attend the assembly, they being for the most part imbued with the doctrines which had latterly chiefly flourished at Pistoja, and had been embraced throughout Italy by many learned canonists, and would pronounce sentence in favour of an opinion which, as far as concerned the succession of bishops, appeared conformable to the ancient usages of the primitive church.

Having arranged these things, Napoleon,

secure of the result, stimulated the national council to commence their task. The council displayed great art in replying to questions which had been framed with yet greater art than their answers. To the query, whether the government of the church was despotic, they answered, that it was not. In points of faith, the holy scriptures, tradition, and the decrees of councils furnished the rule; in points of discipline, those that were universal were regulated by the decrees of the universal church; those that were peculiar, by the laws of particular churches. This opinion of the council was well founded. They added, that the universal church, full of charity and condescension, had always respected each peculiar rule. They argued that God had given to St. Peter and his successors the primacy in honour and jurisdiction. But not proceeding beyond this general proposition, the council did not descend to particulars, nor explain in *what* consisted the primacy of jurisdiction; for in this the whole difficulty of the controversy lay. "God, at the same time," continued the councillors, "gave to all the apostles

the privilege of ruling the churches, subordinate; however, to the chief of the apostles, from which it resulted, that where this subordination was not infringed, the successors of the Apostles had full commission to govern the church.

They decided that the Pope could not refuse his intervention in spiritual affairs, on account of temporal causes, when these were not of such a nature as to prevent the free and independent exercise of his spiritual authority. "It was expedient for the Pope to have cardinals of all nations in the consistory, but it was not expedient to regulate the exact numbers; as it was proper to leave the pontiff some liberty in the election of his councillors. Nor on this point could the decree of the council of Basle be exceeded, which prescribed the election of cardinals of all nations, as far as could conveniently be done, and as the choice of the most worthy individuals might admit of it." But the council soon counter-vailed this opinion, by declaring, as the facts obliged them to do, "that the Emperor had truly united in his own person all the rights as to the election of cardinals, which had been

possessed by the kings of France, by the princes of Brabant, and by the sovereigns of Lombardy, Piedmont, and Tuscany." From this it must have followed, that, with the exception of the cardinals of the hereditary states of Austria (as the rights of Spain were soon also to be added to the rest), that Napoleon was entitled to nominate all the cardinals. And thus the independence of the Pope and of the consistory, if Pius were even to be reinstated in his temporal dominion at Rome, would have been a mere nullity.

They pronounced that "the concordat had not been violated in any essential article by the Emperor." Here the prelates found themselves in a serious dilemma; for they knew that the Pope had protested against the organic articles for France, and yet more strongly against those for Italy. They extricated themselves from the difficulty, however, by opportunely discovering, that several of the articles of which the Pope had complained were maxims and usages of the Gallican church. They answered that the condition of the clergy in France had been greatly

ameliorated since the concordat. This the prelates had every reason to declare; nor did they on this point say so much, that much more might not have been said.

To decide whether the Pope could of his own will refuse institution, the council entered into a long chain of argument; for in this consisted the very nucleus of the whole difficulty. "The concordat they explained as a reciprocal contract between the head of the state, and the head of the church, by which each had bound himself by certain obligations to the other. It was also a treaty of the highest importance to the French nation, and to the Catholic church. By it his Majesty was invested with the same right of nominating the archbishops and bishops which the kings of France had first enjoyed through the concordat concluded between Leo the Tenth and Francis the First. It was reserved for the Pope to give canonical institution to the nominees according to the form prescribed for France, previously to the change of government; but that the Pope ought to give investiture, not of his own arbitrement, but according to canonical

regulations. By the terms of the concordat of 1515 he was obliged to grant the bulls, or to declare the canonical reasons of his refusal. To suppose that he could arbitrarily and without any assigned cause, refuse the bulls, was to argue that he was not bound by any treaty, not even by that which he had solemnly ratified; and that he might break the faith which he had pledged to the Emperor, to France, to that whole church for which the concordat of 1801 had secured the protection of the most potent monarch of the earth. The Pope, they continued, knew these things, and acknowledged the truth of these maxims; but he denied the investiture for the reasons stated in his letter to Cardinal Caprara. These reasons were insufficient. The Emperor had not in any essential point infringed the concordat. As for political matters, it was not their province to judge of such: temporal concerns were of one nature, spiritual concerns of another. The Senatus-consultum, which united Rome to France, had not offended the spiritual authority of the Pope; nor was temporal dominion necessary for the exercise of the

pontifical functions. The appropriation of Rome had not violated the concordat, nor had the concordat made any stipulation to secure Rome to the Pope. Not for a temporal prince, but for the head of the church, had this treaty been framed. The prince was no more; but the pontificate was still in being, and the pontifical authority untouched. The Pope might protest, he might demand his Roman states; but he might not enforce his protests and his demands by spiritual means, or by excommunications. The Emperor declared, that he desired no innovation in religion; he protested that he sought the execution of the stipulated conditions of the concordat; nor could the Pope from temporal reasons refuse to fulfil them. Clement the Seventh, when insulted by Charles the Fifth, had never proceeded to such an extremity." The prelates were now to speak of the violation of the Pope's personal liberty, and of his segregation; for of these injuries had Pius complained in his letter to Cardinal Caprara, and on them he principally grounded his refusal of the bulls: on this point, they touched with

extreme brevity of expression, observing only, that the Emperor would easily perceive "all the force, and all the justice of the Pope's complaints." Thus coldly did prelates of the Catholic church, prelates who held their sees under Pius, observe on the cruel case of the Pontiff. Their conduct on this point cannot be defended by any process of reasoning; for even granting, with regard to the canonical question, that the Emperor was right, and that the Pope was wrong, the single fact of the incarceration of the Pontiff rendered all deliberation on their part unjustifiable. The concordat, which was in fact a treaty, argued the equality of the condition of the two contracting parties, and the power of free deliberation in both. But what freedom of deliberation could be enjoyed by a Pope in the condition of a prisoner? what equality existed between an incarcerated Pontiff, and the Emperor who barred his prison gates? The independence of princes should indubitably be secured, an impassable bulwark should be raised against the abuses of the papal power; and whosoever could accomplish erecting this,

would deserve well of the Catholic world, nay, even of the whole human race. But the captivity of the Pope disturbed every thing, and, ere the canonical question was discussed, that of personal freedom should have been definitively concluded. The subject in dispute became the more thorny, as the debate advanced. The prelates declared, "that they could not consider the concordat as abrogated; because it was not a mere personal matter between the Emperor and the Pope, but a treaty which constituted a part of the public law of France, and contained the fundamental principles and rules of the Gallican church. Even, therefore, should the Pope persevere in refusing to execute his part, he was, nevertheless, called upon to perform the stipulations; and if the supreme pontiff still refused to grant the bulls, this refusal should be protested against as illegal, and an appeal made to the Pope, better informed, or to his successor." Here the prelates arrived at the last extreme; for whether the concordat were to be considered as abrogated, or as only suspended, a remedy in either case became necessary. "Seeing

then that the Catholic religion cannot subsist without episcopacy, and that episcopacy cannot exist without canonical institution, nor without the union of episcopal jurisdiction and ordination; and seeing also that the Gallican church, so noble a portion of Catholic Christendom, had come into these fatal straits, not by any fault of her own; she ought not, and she could not abandon her own cause, nor supinely submit to her own destruction, without seeking the means of preservation; and the prelates advised the Emperor to cause researches to be made into the usages of the church, both in ancient and modern times, under similar circumstances." They represented, that in the early ages of the church, bishops were elected by the suffrages of the bishops of the same province, and the clergy and the people of the vacant church. The election received confirmation from the metropolitan; and that for the metropolitan see itself, from the provincial council. In times posterior to these, the emperors and other Christian princes had largely participated in the nomination of the bishops; but by degrees the elections were

made without the co-operation of the people or the clergy of the district; and the elections devolved on the canons of the cathedral church, dependent, however, on the consent of the prince, and the confirmation of the metropolitan, or of the provincial council. The disuse of these assemblies—the frequent contests that arose out of the elections—the difficulty of terminating them on the spot—the advantage that princes found in treating directly with the Pope, had introduced the customs of transferring these causes to the Holy See, and in this manner the supreme pontiff had gradually acquired the power of confirming the greater part of the bishops. This was the state of things at the period of the council of Basle. The decrees of this council relative to the nomination and confirmation of bishops, were accepted by the church of France, and confirmed by the pragmatic sanction of Bourges in 1438. By these, election by the chapters was confirmed, and institution left to the bishops. Thus the pragmatic sanction of Bourges had remedied the want of pontifical institution. About a century from that time, the concordat between Leo the Tenth and

Francis the First had been concluded. Nomination by the king was substituted for that of the chapters, and canonical institution was reserved for the pope alone. In this manner had the power of institution been transferred from the metropolitans, or the provincial councils, to the supreme pontiff, and the election from the chapters to the supreme ruler of the state. "Now, therefore," said the prelates, "waiving all further discussion, since the commands of necessity are imperative, and since the preservation of the Gallican church is not only recommended, but enjoined by every precept, divine and human; if the Pope persisted in his refusal, it would be advisable to return to the ancient rule of the metropolitans—not in perpetuity or definitively, but transitorily, for a season only, until it might please Him who moves all hearts at his own good pleasure to turn that of the Pontiff towards this great, affectionate, and zealous church of France. The pragmatic sanction of Bourges must afford the remedy of the present evils. Serious and extreme as the measure might be, the prelates further recommended a national

council; they did not desire to anticipate the resolution of this council; but they presumed that in case that should decide on the revival of the pragmatic sanction, it would first conjure and supplicate the Pontiff to show sincere affection towards the Gallican church, and by restoring to her the bishops to restore her life; yet, if neither prayers nor supplications could overcome the obstinacy of the Pope, the council then, as a last resource to avoid utter destruction, should order the pragmatic sanction to be revived."

In the mean time, the doctrine of the advocates of the primitive discipline became daily more widely diffused; and the Italian states, more especially, resounded with them. Those who had embraced these opinions believed that the time of their triumph had arrived; they rejoiced in the diminution of the papal authority, and affirmed, that the remedies proposed were not only salutary but indispensably necessary to the most unhealthy state (as they averred it to be) of the church. The remembrance of the transactions of 1801, and the proceedings of the national council of Paris of that year, had not

enlightened them as to the conduct and intentions of Napoleon. "The episcopal body, said they, represented the church, and would continue to represent her as long as they endured. In having endeavoured, in these latter days, to limit and diminish the divine power of the bishops, the popes had been guilty of a great offence. The power inherent in the episcopal order is immediately derived from Jesus Christ, and no human power can arrogate to itself the right of altering it. Never could the episcopal jurisdiction perish: the councils antecedent to the year one thousand acknowledged, as true and legitimate bishops, those only who had been ordained by their respective metropolitans. Such was the decision of the councils of Nice, to the decrees of which so much respect was shown in those early and purest days of Christianity. The contrary doctrines had been introduced by the Lateran councils alone, which were almost the domestic councils of the popes. The metropolitans, in fine, ought to give jurisdiction to the bishops; the attempt of the popes to arrogate it to themselves entirely, being a manifest

usurpation. God had given to Peter the primacy of honour; and the supreme power of regulating and maintaining in purity the discipline and the faith of all the churches that compose the universal church belonged to them, but not the right of jurisdiction in the case in point: the power of jurisdiction, as far as concerns the transmission of the ecclesiastical authority, was plenary in every bishop by right and divine ordinance, as fully as it was in the supreme pontiff. Christ the Redeemer had thus ordained, when he gave the bishops power to rule over the churches: this was required for the security of states, and for the independence of the temporal power. Was it just and expedient, they demanded, and accordant to the divine will, that the popes should be able, by issuing an interdict, and refusing to continue the succession of the episcopacy, to disturb the consciences of the pious, and to convulse provinces and kingdoms? Was it not absurd to suppose, that God had not given to every social union the means of preserving itself in health and safety? And what security, what safety could there be in a

state of dependence on a foreigner? Many and various had been the methods devised by princes to preserve their own states from the dangers which threatened them by the decrees of the Roman See; now pragmatics, now appeals, now concordats; but all had proved insufficient, because the root of the evil had been suffered to remain, that is, the illegitimate and excessive power of the popes. At every caprice of the See of Rome, a new swarm of perils and dissentions were put in motion; every fresh election of a pope excited alarm; a cardinal more or less in the consistory was sufficient to turn a kingdom upside down. It was now time to undo this hitherto inextricable knot; the tyranny of Rome ought now to be prostrated when a prince who was potent above all others, desired to accomplish such a task. Were episcopacy restored to its full dignity—to its full power, this independence on the See of Rome would be the universal liberty; it would also secure the purity of the Catholic doctrine, because the mixture of temporal with spiritual concerns, which had been the source of innumerable

scandals, and of a deplorable schism, had been the work of Rome. If religion were entirely spiritual, and did not disturb the peace of states, or give occasion for the malicious to censure her, she would have more influence; and even those who did not yield her allegiance would not refuse to grant her their respect. The Catholic communion unceasingly deplored the loss of Germany, the loss of England: this lamentable dismemberment was solely to be ascribed to the preponderance of Rome, to the usurpations of the popes, and to their cupidity in temporal matters. They ought, therefore, to return to that system which, established by Christ and by the apostles, had endured for so many centuries in the primitive church, which the most pious, the most learned, the most exemplary, had inculcated, and, with the most zealous affection, espoused as their own. From this alone could religion derive purity, states security. The honoured memories of Leopold and Ricci were still fresh, especially in Italy; and not a few of the ecclesiastics there, even of the first rank, and as superior, too, for

their learning and virtue, followed their footsteps, and supported the same doctrines; not from ambition, nor from the desire of servile compliance towards him to whom all men, especially their adversaries, were become servile; but from sincere conviction, from the desire of restoring the ancient constitution of the church, such as they believe it to have been,—of reforming abuses, of restoring and confirming the liberty of princes, which was infringed by the immoderate power of the church.

The diffusion of these doctrines pleased Napoleon, because he thought that they afforded him an opportunity of intimidating the Pope, and excited hopes of reducing him to obey his will: nor were they displeasing to the lovers of independence amongst the bishops and archbishops. This Roman yoke already began to feel irksome and intolerable to them, and they exulted in the idea of becoming popes themselves. As far as the ecclesiastics of his dominions were concerned, every thing went on to the satisfaction of Napoleon.

The Pope triumphed, not only by constancy,

but by misfortunes, which always appeal to the hearts of men; nor were his theologians silent, although Napoleon had endeavoured to put a rough bridle in their mouths. They defended the Apostolical See, not only against the doctrines of Port-Royal and Pistoja, but against the allegations of the ecclesiastical council. "Christ," they asserted, "had founded on Peter the whole edifice of religion; to him had given the primacy of honour—the primacy of jurisdiction; by him, and by him alone, could the authority of the church be transmitted and transferred to others. Christ, the Saviour, had in truth appointed the bishops to govern the church, but not of themselves, or independently of Peter, but by his mandate, and under his controul. Peter was the fountain from which flowed all ecclesiastical power. From the necessity of the times, in those early ages, in the midst of adverse religions, of continual persecutions; amidst a people masters of the world, and who adored other gods; amidst so many differing nations; amidst the vast extent of Asia, Africa, and Europe; the first apostles by divine, and afterwards the bishops by apostolical insti-

tution, had used their authority without the express mandate of St. Peter, yet with his consent; for it was not to be believed, that in order to support so great a weight, the apostles and their successors should not have agreed by common consent, to grant the different provinces to one or to another, to avoid confusion and contests. Notwithstanding this, it was incontrovertible that Peter had an ordinary and perpetual, the apostles an extraordinary mandate, which was to end with themselves, or with their immediate successors,—he a mandate for the stable foundation and perpetual government of the church; they a temporary mandate, adapted to the necessities of the times: this necessity ceasing, the authority distributed amongst the apostles and their immediate successors, returned to the common fountain, that is to say, to the successors of Peter. Thus the church, sprung from one alone, returned to one alone,—a wonderful and divine dispensation. Even in the most remote antiquity, evidences of the transfer of the authority of Peter to the other rulers of the church are to be discovered. The metropolitan dignity itself

confirms this truth; for in those early times, the Christian world was divided into east and west; there were two metropolitan sees in the first, Alexandria and Antioch; one in the second, Rome. The two oriental metropolitans gave to the bishops of their respective provinces the ecclesiastical mandate, that is, ordination and jurisdiction, conferring the office, and assigning its locality. The metropolitan of the west, the successor of Peter, did the same to the bishops of the west; but the former had originally received their power from Peter; for Peter had himself governed the church of Antioch, and had appointed his successor in its government, when he had come to found and to rule over the church of Rome. As to the church of Antioch, Peter had sent his disciple, St. Mark, to govern it; but if the origin shows the authority, so do particular circumstances confirm it; because the Roman pontiffs, successors of St. Peter, sent the pall, in token of the conferred authority, to the eastern metropolitans. These metropolitans sought to receive the communion from the Roman pontiff, and without obtaining this communion, they did not consider

themselves to be legitimate. The Roman pontiffs were known to have at times deposed the metropolitans, or, as they were afterwards called, patriarchs of the east. According to the Roman lawyers all these circumstances demonstrated the superiority of Rome from the earliest ages; from which are to be deduced the independence and the perpetuity of the mandate given to the popes, and the dependence of the metropolitans as only delegates. From this it follows, that since all spiritual authority consists in the faculty of transmitting the mandate of Christ, the right of confirming and of instituting all the bishops of the church is supreme and divine, consequently inalienable and uncontrollable, and not subject to interruption, restriction, or cessation. No power whatever, not even the church, could diminish it. If any modification had at any time been introduced, especially in the primitive ages, it had taken place by the determination or with the consent of the supreme pontiff."

Then, as to France in particular, the Roman theologians asserted the transmission of the mandate of St. Peter to the church of that realm, to

be much more manifest than in any other whatever; because the popes, as regarded that church, were not only popes, but metropolitans, being the metropolitans of the west; and if any particular metropolitan had been created for the better government of the church through so wide a province, he was created by the pontificial authority. Of the nomination and institution of bishops made by the popes in the four Gauls, even without the intervention of the metropolitans, or of the regal authority itself, examples are to be found; and, if examples of nomination, of depositions also; which proves the fulness of the pontifical authority in France, in every period."

Nor did the defenders of the Apostolical See allow more weight to the arguments adduced from the pragmatic sanction of Bourges. "For this they esteemed wholly invalid, from the essential defect of its origin, having been, as they said, concerted and published by the incompetent and secular authority of the king. If they pronounced it null from the view of its origin, they were further bound to maintain more strongly its nullity by

a decree of the universal church; for the fifth Lateran council had abrogated and annulled it, and had further declared it schismatic. But, even allowing that it were not defective in its origin, and that all might be referred to ecclesiastical authority, that is, to a national council of France; can the authority of a national council supersede that of a general council? Can the decision of a part have greater weight than the decision of the whole? Does infallibility belong to particular and not to the ecumenical councils? Has the Gallican church herself—have the clergy of 1682, gone to such excesses as to have maintained a proposition so monstrous? has it not, on the contrary, definitively declared that infallibility resides in the universal council and the Pope conjoined? If this be true, as most true it is, how can the proposition be maintained that the pragmatic sanction of Bourges is not schismatic? How can the clergy of France support this without contradicting themselves? The Lateran censures proved the error of the ecclesiastical council, and the necessity of the pontifical mandate to confer episcopal jurisdiction.

Further, the concordat between Leo the Tenth and Francis the First, abolished the pragmatic sanction, nor could it in any manner be resuscitated. The council of Trent, that is, the universal church, had approved the concordat itself, and had solemnly pronounced the pontifical authority, to be indispensible for the canonical institution of bishops. Nor does it avail to assert, that the council of Trent was not accepted in France as to discipline; for the immortal mandate of the successors of St. Peter is not a rule of discipline, but is a divine institution, and therefore appertaining to doctrine. Besides this, it was only the King of France, that is, the secular power, that refused to accept, in other words, to publish the council of Trent, whilst the Gallican clergy accepted it truly, and continually urged the Kings of France to publish it."

"Nor," continued they, "is the allegation of necessity more valid; because it is evident, that even in a case of necessity, the power of administering an extraordinary remedy is requisite, such being administered; without such power, that which is proposed as medicine, must be in

fact, otherwise,—a poison that would occasion death—not life. Now, certainly, the Gallican clergy do not possess the faculty of modifying, still less of annulling that which, supposing even that it were not of divine institution, has been declared, defined, and decreed by the universal church. In similar cases, we must not expect to procure a remedy for ourselves, but must wait till we receive it from Providence.

"The prelates of the ecclesiastical council assert that the government of the church is not despotic, that the Pope must conform to the canons; and they appeal for this to the councils. But when the Pope, in the fulfilment of that concordat, which, without having any regard to the canons, he made with Napoleon, had exercised an usual and unheard of authority, and, notwithstanding the councils, even the general councils, as he himself declares, had deposed without any accusation or process, all the bishops of the entire kingdom of France; these same prelates who are now so jealous of the Gallican liberties, did not then invoke these liberties—they did not complain of papal despotism—they did not appeal

to a council; but most complacently, most willingly, did they take the seats of the deposed ecclesiastics; and now they employ that authority which the Pope, to the prejudice of those whom they superseded, had given to them, to assault him, and to teach that no power is independent of the canons. They did not then demand a general council, nor the assent of the church, when power, wealth, and honours were in question. But if then they erred, and if the canons are inviolable, if the Gallican liberties are inviolable, they must now submit to the charge of ignorance, to avoid the character of impostors, since from their error and participation, there has not been in the church of France for ten years back any legitimate jurisdiction; and all the bishops and all the curates have been intruders. By their adherence to the concordat, they renounced their liberty, and implicitly acknowledged the superiority of the Pope over the canons; they acknowledged his infallibility; and now they raise their audacious heads against this same Pope, whose power they had thus so loudly proclaimed. Do they then think that the

Pope, according to the dictates of their cupidity and ambition, must now condemn that which he had approved, and now approve that which he had condemned? They complain of the arbitrary proceedings of the Pope. Do they think, then, that on the face of the wide spread earth, their Emperor, to whom they offer so much adulation, is alone to be invested with absolute power? The Imperial caprices they welcome—the decrees of the Pope they reject; they are the enemies of their blameless chief; they are the sycophants of their tyrant; they prefer an excommunicate to a Pope.*

"Even if the Gallican liberties be granted to the extent demanded, does it therefore follow that out of France that system should be binding on others? Let it be in force in France, if such be the humour of the nation and the clergy; but by what right, with what justice, can it be transplanted to Italy? Was it for Italy that the clergy of 1682 made their stipulations? Who

* The Translator has here omitted some paragraphs of the original, as they contain only lengthy repetitions of arguments already more than once fully detailed.

commands this act?—who executes it?—a decree of Napoleon, a senatus-consultum of his adherents. Then, because Napoleon declared that he wished Turin, Genoa, Milan, Florence, and Rome, to become subject to the Gallican laws, and the decrees of the assembly held at Paris in 1682; then immediately such became the law in these provinces. Where did Napoleon receive the mandate, on which to disturb ecclesiastical affairs in Italy, especially in Rome? And who shall dare to say, that his, if but a civil decree, is to effect ecclesiastical changes?

"Much has been said, and is daily repeated," continued the advocates of Rome, "of the abuse of the pontifical authority. Certainly, those pontiffs have erred who have disturbed kingdoms for temporal matters; as those princes have erred, who have agitated them for spiritual concerns: on which side the greater blame should rest, this is not the place to say; history charges herself with the sentence. But in fine, what danger did there appear to be, that Pius the Seventh would abuse the power of institution, to disturb the tranquillity of France? How could

the idea ever occur to his mind of afflicting *Napoleon's France?* how could it occur to him who, in his declining age, over rugged mountains, in the harshest season of the year, against the wishes of the sovereigns of Europe, against the opinion of many cardinals, had travelled even to Paris to crown him? What grounds had Pius given for the belief that he desired to assume in France, or elsewhere, an intolerable domination? They say, 'look to the future;' but to judge of the future, it is necessary to consider the past: 'look then to the past,' and it will be seen where the intolerable domination may be found. Nor is ecclesiastical liberty spoken of here, because this discourse must be offensive to the clergy who desire to yield it up a prey to the empire. Let us only observe what would become of them, if nomination should belong to secular princes, and institution to the metropolitans or other subjects of the said princes. Pontifical institution corrects regal nomination. If princes unite both powers, one directly in their own right, the other indirectly through the medium of subject prelates, religion must become subservient to

them in cases adverse to her interests even in matters of faith: no alternative then would remain to her ministers but to incur the abomination of heresy, or the tortures of martyrdom. Pius the Seventh resists an insupportable tyranny: the church will for ever be his debtor, nor princes less; for if the Pope succumb, Christianity—the world is enslaved: the Pope combats for the liberty of all."

At this time the conspiracy which had been contrived against a captive Pope began to discover itself: soldiers and spies did their part at Savona; prelates prepared to perform theirs at Paris: they were fifteen in number, cardinals, archbishops, and bishops; of cardinals, Fesch, Maury, and Caselli, the archbishops of Tours, Toulouse, and Malines, the bishops of Versailles, of Savona, of Casalle, of Quimper, of Montpellier, of Troyes, of Metz, of Nantes, of Treves, to whom may be added the bishop of Faenza. The Emperor commanded them to send a deputation to Savona, in hopes of moving the Pope: they elected the archbishop of Tours, the bishops of Nantes and Treves. The national council,

convened at Paris for the 9th of June, which was another part of the Imperial engine of intimidation, was held in readiness to propose to the Pope the terms of the agreement dictated by the Emperor. Napoleon commanded the deputies to declare to the Pope the convocation of the council, and the abrogation of the concordat, as he, one of the contracting parties, refused to observe the conditions; and that, as before the concordat of Francis the First, bishops would, in future, be instituted according to the forms prescribed by the council, and approved by the Emperor. Notwithstanding this, Napoleon gave the prelates power to negociate at Savona; but this power was to be used only in case they found the Pope disposed to treat. Two distinct and separate conventions were to be made; by the first, the institution of the bishops was to be secured; and by this, the Emperor consented to return to the stipulations of the concordat, with this difference, however, that the Pope was to grant institution to the bishops already named; and in future, if the Pope did not institute the nominees in three months from

the date on which he was informed of their nomination, the nomination was to be communicated to the metropolitan, who was to give institution to the suffragans; in like manner they were, when necessary, to institute an archbishop. By the second, the Emperor wished to regulate general affairs, the following conditions being absolute:—the Pope might return to Rome if he would consent to the oath prescribed by the concordat; if he refused this oath, he might reside at Avignon, there to enjoy regal honours, and a revenue of two millions; to receive the ministers of all the Christian powers; and, finally, to exercise full and perfect freedom in the government of spiritual concerns; but all under the express condition, that he was to do nothing in the empire contrary to the four articles of 1682. If the Pope accepted these conditions, the Emperor proposed much for his future advantage, and made many proffers:" he would willingly incline to an agreement with the Pope, as well for the free exercise of his spiritual functions as for the creation of new bishoprics in France and in

the Netherlands; he would use every effort to protect the religious orders of the holy land; would rebuild the holy sepulchre; would foster the missions; would regulate the datary; would restore the papal archives. But first, and above all, the deputies were entirely to withhold all hope from the Pontiff of recovering the temporal sovereignty of Rome: they were to make him understand that the council was convened, and that the church of France was competent to do all that the good of the souls committed to her charge, and the interests of religion, might require."

Napoleon must have felt extraordinary confidence in himself, in the prelates, and in the effect of force, if he could persuade himself that a Pope could fall so low as to consent to return as a subject to that place where he had reigned as a sovereign; and consent to swear obedience and fidelity to the Emperor Napoleon, by that same form of oath which he had himself, as a sovereign, so lately interchanged with Napoleon, in mutually binding the treaty between them; that he should consent to bind

himself by the obligation of an oath to serve him as an informer and a spy, not even excepting the secrets of the confessional. That Napoleon should have made this proposition, no man will wonder; but that prelates, bearing the name of Catholics, should have accepted the office of announcing it, if it excite our astonishment, must still more strongly excite indignation.

The ecclesiastical deputies reached Savona with all those matters well digested, and with a permission from the minister of the officiality to communicate with the Pope; for otherwise they could not have approached him. They presented themselves in the most respectful manner, and laboured zealously to gain his favour; and they were received with the utmost graciousness, and entered the following day on their mission. Objecting always the difficulty arising from his imprisonment, Pius replied, that he would make no decision, nor grant any bull, until he was restored to liberty; for, in his situation, deprived of his natural counsellors, deprived of his theologians, deprived of books, of paper, and of pens; deprived, in fine, of his

confessor, whom he had in vain demanded, he could neither inform himself as to the qualifications of the nominees, he could not even inquire into, much less concede any thing. Notwithstanding this first warmth on the part of the Pope, the prelates entertained hopes of gradually persuading him, either from the irksomeness of his present situation, from fears for the future, or from despair of the possibility of operating any change in the fortunes of Napoleon, to relax, in some degree, from the resolutions he had made, and to consent, at least in part, to the demands which were made. The negociation was artfully conducted by the delegates, and still more artful were the principles on which the Emperor founded it. The whole importance of the matter consisted in securing the institution of the bishops in a given time, if not by the Pope, by an acknowledgment of the authority of the metropolitans to grant confirmation: it was also of great consequence to induce the Pope to treat with Napoleon, as that would imply his being absolved from the

excommunication, if not explicitly, at least by inference from the fact itself.

Assailed and importuned on every side, Pius retracted his declaration, that he would not treat till he was set at liberty, and began to explain his intentions. The oath he decidedly refused; but as for the four propositions, he showed himself not averse to the first, though he rejected the other three as censurable; declaring, that "the church would pronounce him a vile traitor, overcome by the weariness of captivity; that his name would be debased by an act which would be to him the cause of incredible affliction; but for the love of peace, he would do nothing contrary to their import. Coming to the principal object of the negociation—that of the investiture, he exclaimed against the term of three months as too short to admit of any investigation into the merits of the nominees: in such a case the Emperor would be the sole judge of the qualifications of the bishops; and in the end the metropolitans would sit in judgment on the refusal of the Holy See. This

change was too great; nor could a poor old man, like him, presume to make it without advice. He also represented strongly and earnestly, that it was impossible for him to resign his more immediate rights over the bishops of Italy; that his conscience was repugnant to it; that other sovereigns would demand the same prerogatives, and enforce the same restrictions: the nominations of persons unworthy of filling the sees might occur, of men suspected of errors in morals or faith; the apostolical would no longer be the Holy See; the mandate given by God to St. Peter would perish; and anarchy would prevail in the church, which would be entirely governed by the secular power."

The delegates represented to him the imminent danger of the church, the irreparable loss of the prerogatives of the Holy See, the sufferings of all his adherents; Pius, raising his eyes to Heaven, imploringly ejaculated "*Patience!*" He again represented to the prelates, that his conscience forbad his acquiescence; that the head of the church was in bonds, and isolated from all counsel. The delegates resolved

to make another attempt to overcome the scruples, and the resolution of the Pope: they entreated the bishop of Nantes, as being more deeply versed in canonical law, and more determined in his opinions on these matters than his colleagues, to compose a memorial to be presented to his Holiness. He accordingly wrote the required address in French, and the bishop of Faenza translated it into Italian: the substance of his reasoning was, that since Napoleon would not yield, the Pope must of necessity yield to him. The deputies, in fine, earnestly recommended Pius to grant the clause regarding the metropolitans, affirming that there was no necessity either for protracted discussion, or for counsellors, to decide whether the Holy See should keep or lose for ever the institution of the bishops of France; and by this name, they understood not only those of the ancient kingdom, but of Italy, of Piedmont, of Parma, of Tuscany, and of the Roman state itself. In conclusion, they offered that his Holiness should see any prelate who might be in some of the neighbouring places, and in

whom he could confide; and they specified Spina, as if in these times, and within the walls of Savona, any one could be free, or could freely give advice.

The mind of the Pope began now to be affected by the reasoning of the delegates, by the weariness of captivity and seclusion, and by the prospect of future evils; and although he still vacillated, now more accommodating, and now drawing back, he began to be less averse to treat with them on the clause of institution. He desired only to extend to six months the time allowed prior to the institution by the metropolitans, the Emperor to be also bound to nominate within a definite time; as if, should such necessity be imposed on the Pope, and not on the sovereign, the equality between the two parties would be destroyed. The delegates admitted the justice of this stipulation; for if the uninterupted succession of the episcopacy was to be secured against the Pope, it was not less to be secured against the sovereign.

There yet remained the impediment of the excommunication, by which the Emperor was

excluded from the church. The delegates, at this period of the negociation, perceiving the Pope to be inclined to vacillate, for they had learned in the Napoleonic school to discern those favorable moments of weakness in which to drive on a conclusion; and fearing to excite the displeasure of the Emperor, if they did not fully execute his commands at Savona, they all simultaneously assailed Pius, pressing him and urging him on every side. "What description of act," they demanded, "was this excommunication? It was not, nor ever could be, authentic in France; France would never depart from the maxims of her church. It had been productive of the worst effects to those communities, and also to those individuals who were the most strongly devoted to the Holy See; all had lamented it as highly prejudicial to the Pope, to the church, to the cardinals; not only to the red, but also to the black, as they called the imprisoned and exiled cardinals; they had never ceased to communicate *in divinis* with his Majesty; they had chaunted the Imperial victories; they had celebrated every festival in the Imperial chapel." The Pope

already hesitated; and to force him at once to a decision, the delegates demanded an audience to announce to him their immediate departure;—"Well ought he to consider the impending evils; he alone would be responsible to God and man;—through his means the wounds of the church would be rendered incurable;—if they once set out the council would do its office:—he would have unwelcome news from Paris."

Attacked, in fine, on every side, and separated from all intercourse with the world, the Pope promised to come to an agreement, the import of which was,—"That his Holiness, taking into consideration the wishes and the wants of the churches of France and Italy, represented to him by their deputies, and desirous of demonstrating by a new act his paternal affection towards the said churches, would give canonical institution to the nominees of his Majesty, in the forms defined by the concordats of France, and of the kingdom of Italy; that he had resolved to extend by a new concordat those same regulations to the churches of Tuscany, Parma, and Piacenza; that he would consent to insert a clause in the concordats, pro-

mising to forward the bulls of institution to the bishops nominated by his Majesty, in a certain determinate time, which he thought could not be less than six months; and in case that the bulls were delayed for more than six months from any other cause than the unworthiness of the nominees, he would invest the metropolitan of the vacant church with authority at the expiration of the six months, to give institution in his name, or, failing him, the most ancient bishop of the ecclesiastical province. His Holiness further stated that he was induced to make these concessions by the hope conceived from the communications of the deputed bishops, that they would open the way to concord, and restore peace and order to the church—restore to the Holy See the freedom, the independence, and the dignity which became her." An addition was made to the instrument containing these promises,—which the deputies affirmed was by his consent, the Pope averring on the contrary that he was surprised into it,—of an article conceived in these terms; "That the arrangements relative to the government of the church and the exercise of the

pontifical authority should be the matter of a particular treaty, and that his Holiness was disposed to negociate, as soon as his counsellors and his liberty should be restored to him."

Reflecting on the magnitude of the concessions he had made, and all his doubts returning to his mind, Pius could obtain no sleep through the whole of the night: the appended clause, especially, disturbed his peace, he fearing that it obliged him to come to a negociation, treaty, or compromise, respecting the government of the church, even in the spiritual part. Therefore, on the following day, taking the pen into his own hand, (for he was allowed the use of pen and ink for the negociation) he added to the writing these words: "That with surprise he had seen annexed to the draught of the demands which had been made, the words '*diverse arrangements*,' with those which followed to the end of the article." Still writing with his own hand, he continued, "that the said demands had been admitted by him neither as a treaty, nor as preliminaries, but solely to demonstrate his design to conform to the provisions of the church of France, at a

future time. When the subject should have been well considered, that could be settled in a stable manner; but now he obliged himself transitorily to make these said provisions; and in case that they could not be realised or approved, he bound himself to treat of some other stipulations." This protest not satisfying the mind of the pontiff, he summoned the prefect, and Lagorse, a gendarme of the pontifical palace, positively affirming to them that he had not admitted the last phrase of the writing agreed to between him and the bishops. He further declared to them, that not having slept all the night previous to the day of that negociation, he had been as if half intoxicated, and that, consequently, he was not on that day capable of making any promise. Finally, he did not consider himself bound by any treaty, nor by any preliminary of a treaty; and this he desired to be fully understood, because he did not wish to be obliged to remonstrate on the subject, nor to wear an appearance of a breach of faith. If it should become necessary, he would, however, raise his voice against it; and he wished it to be well.

understood that nothing on his part had been definitively concluded. It was of little consequence to the delegated bishops whether this addition were or were not agreed to by the Pontiff, for the pith of the matter was the institution to be given by the Pope, or, in case of delay on his part, by the metropolitans. Therefore, they willingly consented to cancel the appendix, and sent the document to the minister from Turin.

The deputies announced to the Imperial government, with no small pleasure, the concessions made by the Pope; at the same time declaring that it appeared impossible to persuade the Holy Father to promise in writing that he would not attempt any thing against the three last propositions of the council of 1682. He would only declare that it was not his intention to do any thing contrary to them. It was equally impossible to induce him to take the oath, or to resign his temporal sovereignty. As for the proffered revenue of two millions, he declared that he "would not accept it; a very little would suffice for him to live on, and on little would he

live. The piety of the faithful would," he said, "be his support." In the midst of all this the prelates discovered, and communicated their conviction to the government, that it was above all things the fixed and unalterable determination of the Pontiff not to suffer the Emperor to nominate to the vacant sees of the pontifical state, affirming, that to himself alone belonged the nomination and the institution. "How!" exclaimed the Pope, with infinite emotion, "shall the titles of cardinal bishops and the suburban bishops be destroyed without the consent of the Holy See? Can it be desired that I should consent to a concordat, by which the Emperor should dispose of all these bishoprics, and even nominate to such as they should neutrally agree to retain? It would be a lamentable circumstance if in all Christendom the Pope should not be able of his own will to make a single bishop, and should have nothing left in his power to recompense those servants who had well and faithfully served him in the pontifical government."

Great rejoicings, on account of the concessions

promised by the Pope, took place in the Imperial palaces, where the result of the journey of the prelates to Rome had been anxiously expected; all were pleased that the excommunication had been withdrawn, and the institution granted. The Emperor having in part conquered the Pope, he now became incited to subjugate him entirely; and he made yet greater demands, being desirous that all he had declared in his instructions to the bishops should be carried into effect; nor would he permit any exception as to the bishops to be made: the Pope was either to renounce his temporal dominion, and return a vassal to Rome, or repair to Avignon to yet greater vassalage, and must also accept the Imperial stipend. For this purpose he resolved to employ the council: some of the cardinals were first sent to the Pope, not as yet the black, but the red, and even of these only such as seemed most likely to forward his intentions,—Roveralla, Dugnani, Fabrizio Ruffo: the greatest dependence was placed on Cardinal Bajana; for he was very insinuating, very decided in his opinions, and, in the consistory, had always been

the advocate of the measures most likely to conciliate the Emperor. To these were added, Bertazzoli, archbishop of Edessa, a timid and accommodating character, who, by ancient intimacy, was familiar with the Pope, and possessed his highest confidence and favour.

Thus Napoleon threatened, Bajana spoke authoritatively, Bertazzoli entreated with prayers and tears. During this time, the minister of the officiality commanded that no person, whatever, should speak to the Pope except the prefect, Lagorse, the gendarme, and the commissioners. The commissioners acted their parts well, except only that Ruffo and Dugnani broke bounds so much as to get upon the topic of the Pope's liberty; certain words, however, were said to them in reply, which obliged them to think of any thing rather than of releasing the captive. In the mean time, the council of Paris passed a decree conformable to the recent promises of the Pope; and a deputation of the council was to take it to Savona, that the Pope might ratify it, and issue a brief conformably. The archbishops of Tours, Malines, and Pavia, the

bishop of Faenza, called the patriarch of Venice, the bishops of Piacenza, Evreux, of Treves, of Nantes, and of Feltre, were deputed to bear it to the Pope: he received them willingly and urbanely. They easily obtained, on the 20th of September, the brief which approved the decree of the council. The archiepiscopal and episcopal sees were not to be vacant more than one year; the Emperor was to nominate, the Pope to institute: if the bull of institution were not granted in six months, the metropolitans or the most ancient bishop was to give institution without the papal mandate. The Pope added this only to the decree, that if at the expiration of six months no canonical impediment existed, the metropolitan or his delegate was, before they instituted, to take the necessary informations, and to require from the nominee the profession of faith, and all that the canons enjoined. Finally, they were to grant institution in his name expressly, or in the name of his successor; and were thereupon to transmit to the Holy See all the authentic documents of their faithful execution of these forms. Napoleon

did good service to the secular power, in having thus secured a specified time, beyond which the popes could not refuse institution; this arrangement was, in fact, in the last degree important to the peace of states; for, in the close connection that exists between things temporal and spiritual, there frequently arise serious differences between the two powers, to terminate which in her own favour, Rome might have employed the expedient of interrupting the episcopacy, by denying institution. The time agreed on supplied, as far as concerns the independence of the temporal power, the places of the obsolete customs of the primitive church, whether legitimate, and of divine institution, according to the opinion of many learned theologians, or only tolerated by the tacit, or the expressed, consent of the successors of St. Peter, according to the opinion of the Roman lawyers. Blessed had Napoleon been had he sought this benefit from love of liberty, and not from an overweening desire of domination; and blessed also if he had contented himself with acquiring it. But the more the Pope conceded, the greater became his temerity.

Bajana, the archbishop of Tours, and all the others, closely pressed the captive pontiff to concede the other demands of the Emperor. It was easy to see what would be the ecclesiastical liberty that would subsist if the Pope, taking the oath, should live at Rome, or at Avignon, surrounded by the Imperial soldiers;—if the Emperor nominated all, or almost all the cardinals, and if all the despatches of the Pontiff were to be transmitted through the Imperial posts. Certainly the prelates acted in this affair the part of advocates of the empire rather than of the church, and laboured for the entire emancipation of the secular power. Princes would have owed them a weight of gratitude if their intentions had been consentaneous to their actions. In fine, this was an extraordinary case, to which the common rules of argument do not apply; for all the secular powers were at this time the slaves of one alone, which, through the entire subjugation of the ecclesiastical power, was becoming the absolute mistress of the world: a strange, but a true case. Ecclesiastical liberty was a part and prop of the general liberty,

and if this, the only check remaining, were to be destroyed, all must give way to an universal despotism.

Amidst all the storm that was raised around him, the Pope demanded his liberty. The delegates of the council replied, that he was free. This fact I narrate, that posterity may understand the spirit of the age. With the greatest firmness Pius refused the oath, refusing also to reside either at Rome or Avignon as a subject. The soft-hearted Bertazzoli, who was much filled with apprehension, could not rest a moment in peace, but all day long piteously exclaimed, "*Let us trust in God—obedience to the government—I have hopes—let us pray to God;*" and thus between his hopes and his obedience, the good prelate passed his time, but effected nothing with the Pope; and in the end, received his command to say nothing more on state affairs. Seeing that no progress was made, Napoleon determined to try the effect of an unexpected and alarming threat. By his command, the deputies presented themselves to the Pope, and in no measured terms declared to him, that by

the orders of the Emperor they were about to leave Savona instantly; that he would cause the Emperor to retract the concordat; that through him the ties which united the Gallican church and the Holy See would be broken; and that posterity, and more especially his successors, would condemn him for having occasioned such a grievous loss to the Apostolical See. This was the last moment; the Roman church was undone; the empire was triumphant." They added much more as to the benefit that both parties would derive from the Pontiff's compliance: Pius simply replied, "that he could not act against his conscience. The providence of God was all-sufficient; he cared not for what the world might say; and, least of all, for the opinion of cardinals and prelates contaminated by the corruptions of Paris." They set out without procuring any conclusion.

As a last experiment, the prefect waited on the Pope, at the imperative order of the minister of the officiality, and gravely admonished him of the importance of the case, of the impending ruin, and of his future regret; and

declared that the opinion of the clergy and of the entire world was in condemnation of his determination; adding, that if he did not yield, and adopt wiser resolutions, he was charged to acquaint him with what would inflict a deep wound on his heart. Pius replied, that his conscience forbade compliance; that God would show his power. The prefect then signified to him, on the part of the government, that the brief of the 20th of September not having been ratified, the Emperor considered the concordat as abrogated, and would no longer suffer the intervention of the Pope in the canonical institution of the bishops.

As threats transmitted from a distance had produced no impression, it was now resolved to try their efficacy when employed in the immediate vicinity of the seat of government. Besides, the times were becoming critical, and the fates were assailing Napoleon: the resistance of the Pope, and his distance from the capital, excited some uneasiness. The Emperor resolved to bring him to France, where he could see him, and threaten him himself: secrecy was

esteemed more excusable than publicity, the night than the day. The report was spread that Lagorse, a captain of gendarmes, who was to accompany the captive Pope in his journey, had fallen into disgrace with the Emperor, for having shown too much kindness to Porta, the Pope's physician, and that Prince Borghese had summoned him to Turin in order to communicate to him the Imperial commands: so far was this artifice carried, that the deceived Savonese, pitying Lagorse, supplied him with numerous attestations of good conduct in order to exculpate him. The matter proceeded; the chief engineer of bridges and roads prepared every thing for the journey: on the night of the 9th of June, which happened to be dark in the extreme, at the stroke of twelve, they dressed the Pope in a white cassock, and put a priest's hat on his head, and the episcopal cross on his breast. Demonstrating no repugnance, but, on the contrary, preserving perfect serenity, he was hastily placed in the carriage that had been prepared, and driven on the road towards Alexandria: they said, as they journeyed on, that

he was the bishop of Albenga, who was going to Novi. They passed through Campormarrone, avoiding Genoa as suspicious. Nothing was changed at Savona; every day, for full fifteen days after his departure, the magistrates went to the pontifical palace to visit the Pontiff as if he had been present; the domestics prepared his apartments, served and cleared away his table, bought provisions in the market, and cooked them;—Fenestrella* for life, if they betrayed the secret. The guards watched the pontifical palace, and the gendarmes declared to all who wished to listen to them, and equally to those who did not, that they had recently seen the Pope with their own eyes in the garden, or on the terrace, or in the chapel; Suard, the lieutenant under Lagorse, who was in the plot, pitied "*poor Lagorse*," for having lost the favour of the Emperor. Those who knew any thing of the matter held their peace; those who knew nothing spoke at random, as usual. It was wished, however, that no one

* A fortress of Savoy, on the river Cluson, in the village of the same name.

should touch on the matter. A poor man of the Riviera said to his sorrow, that he had seen the Pope at Voltri: he was ordered to unsay this, if not, it would be worse for him. He accordingly denied the fact, as he was commanded, and was sent away with—only an admonition, firmly determined never more to name the Pope. The Imperial agents at Paris were in anxious expectation as to the rumours which might arise at Savona, or the places in its vicinity. The magistrates wrote that every thing was safe; that no one suspected the affair: in short, the Pope was two hundred leagues off, whilst he was still believed to be at Savona—so perfectly arranged were the designs Napoleon intrusted to his agents! The Pope reached Fontainebleau, to be exposed anew to the insults of military violence: Napoleon arrived soon after.

Extraordinary fatality! that there, where, eight years before, Pius had been conducted in triumph, he was now brought a prisoner; and from thence Napoleon, who now arrived the sovereign lord of the world, was, two years after, carried away a captive!

CHAPTER VIII.

Affairs of Sicily.—Constitution given by Ferdinand to the Sicilians, under the influence of Lord William Bentinck.—The Queen, obliged by the English to retire from Sicily, dies at Vienna.—War between France and Russia.—Napoleon's evil days arrive.—Overthrown in Russia; makes a fresh effort to appear on the German plains.—Is overwhelmed at Leipsig.—All Germany indignantly rises against him.—The concordat of Fontainebleau.—Proceedings of Joachim, of Eugene, and of Bentinck, regarding the affairs of Italy.—Eugene on the Save.—Italy assailed by diverse factions.—The end of the tragedy draws near.

In Naples reigned Joachim, the brother-in-law of Napoleon, and in Sicily Caroline, the daughter of Austria. Napoleon, by the reflection of his power, influenced the government of Naples; England, by the presence of her troops, coerced that of Sicily. Many and various were the effects of that one same passion, ambition, which animated all, as well those who reigned in name, as those who reigned in fact; so sweet is power to

man; and sweet is it to woman also. Part of the occurrences that we are now about to relate, have been already either mentioned or alluded to; but it is now expedient to conclude the relation of some things and to explain others more fully, and then we shall have nearly reached the end of this but too lamentable narrative. A distant period demands a retrospect.

Joachim, who was easily buoyed up by empty hopes, was all intent on disturbing the affairs of Sicily, alike by warlike demonstrations, by cabals, and by intrigues: Caroline, on her side, abetted by the English, devoted all her energy to the purpose of rendering the government of the Napoleonic dynasty in the continental kingdom turbulent and insecure. The blood-stained soil of Calabria, the rivers whitened with human bones, attested that the instigations of Palermo and of Naples had been heard, as has been already recorded in these pages. We have also related the result of Joachim's attempt in arms, and must now give the history of those transactions which arose out of his political intrigues in Sicily, direful as

they were, and worthy of the times which witnessed them. The acquisition of Messina was Joachim's chief object, as that place was not only important from its own strength, but important also from its vicinity to Naples. His partisans held secret intelligence there with men of low condition, in hopes of raising a popular insurrection against the government. The conspirators were of too humble a class to be of much importance; but as it seemed incredible that the French party should rely on a mere rabble of shoemakers, tailors, and fishermen, to produce a revolution in Sicily, it was apprehended that these were but the agents of more powerful coadjutors; and, therefore, in order to discover how far the conspiracy might extend, the court of Palermo sent the Marquis Artali to the spot; a man not merely inclined to obey the government to the utmost, but capable too of suffering justice to degenerate into cruelty. The terrors which marked the commencement of his mission marked the whole course of his administration: he imprisoned not only the guilty, but the suspected; not only the humble

and the poor, but the rich and the nobly born. Summoning the arrested to his presence, he commanded them to confess their misdeeds, "otherwise, in the severity of his judgments, they should learn to know the Marquis Artali, who would administer justice according to the mode of Palermo; he would put fetters on their limbs, manacles on their hands; he would wring their necks; he would sear their sinews with red-hot irons; let him speak but one single word, and Messina should have cause to confess that he was *Artali*." His deeds were consentaneous to—nay, were worse than, his threats. Confined in secret dungeons, which were too low and narrow to permit them either to stand erect or to lie at length, his victims were left for full fifty days, as if consigned to oblivion; a wretched little loaf each day being all that was ministered to them. Springs of water welled out around them; the ground was rough with sharp stones; they had neither light nor air, and the atmosphere soon became pestilential. Some had their flesh lacerated by stripes; some were torn by irons.

To some drugs were administered in order to occasion terrific dreams, from which they were awakened by the application of burning coals and pieces of heated metal. The limbs of some were horribly dislocated; of other sufferers the entire skin was cut with small cords tightly bound, which were only unloosed when symptoms of mortification began to appear; for the excutioners found that death might deprive them of the victims destined to fresh torture. The detail of their protracted and multiform martyrdom, would be too painful; I will only say that the Sicilian dungeons of Verres were the prototypes of those of Messina in the time of Artali.

The Sicilian soil responded to the Calabrian—fury for fury—cruelty for cruelty! Unhappy clime! doomed to witness the last excesses of man's ferocious nature! The Calabrian and the Sicilian shores proclaim the severity of Manhes and Artali: but the first was inflexible, the last cruel; the former calm, the latter furious. The former cured the desperate malady of a diseased country, the other destroyed the

country he ruled, and made it the abode of the demon of revenge. Messina wept, feared, and shuddered; to every man every thing was now insecure; they executed alike those who commanded these acts of cruelty, and those who suffered them to be inflicted. Great odium was incurred too by the English, who had been called to defend the people, and who yet saw them thus massacred under their eyes. The cries of the Messinese revealed this painful tragedy to Sir John Stuart, the commander of the British forces. He sent Lord Forbes to visit these horrible dungeons, accompanied by surgeons to dress the wounds of the prisoners. These circumstances were well known to the English ministry, indubitable proofs of which were furnished to them. I know not whether they thought the suffering of the tortured of any great consequence; but they certainly were much concerned at the odium they excited against the Sicilian government, and against England herself. The defence of the island became weaker in consequence. It was of great importance to the English to keep Sicily, as well on

account of the island itself, as on account of its vicinity to Malta and Naples; it being opportune to defend the one and assail the other. The violent sway of the Queen gave them no small cause of uneasiness; for to her did the people chiefly attribute the measures of the government; and the alienation they felt for her tended to alienate them from her allies also. The English, therefore, deliberated on the remedy to be adopted for these evils. In truth, the Sicilians, who had joyfully hailed the arrival of the court in ninety-nine, were now as decidedly inimical to it. The causes of this change, besides the extreme severities which had been practised, were many and serious.

On the death of Acton, in whom the Queen had chiefly confided, the Chevalier Medici was appointed minister of finance, a man, as we have elsewhere said, of singular dexterity, but inclined to despotism. On this account he pleased the Queen, and the Queen pleased him. The new minister was doubly odious to the Sicilians, not only from his arbitrary character, but on account of his birth, for he was a Neapolitan.

To these discontents were added others of no small consequence. The Queen, who found from time to time the desire of assuming the due command which belonged to him arise in the mind of the King, had contrived, in order to repress these fits of courage, that the Duke of Ascoli, to whom Ferdinand was much attached, and who was also in a great measure subservient to herself, should be made prime minister. She now hoped to exercise a boundless empire over the King, by his own personal influence, and by that of the duke. But besides that, Ascoli was a man whose intellect was too feeble to support the weight of such an administration; he was moreover addicted to the same foibles as Ferdinand himself, and allowed himself to be governed by a lady whom he called by the name of friend; and she employing the interest of the Duke for her own ends, in acts contrary to his duty, a great clamour was raised against him, and his reputation suffered no little diminution. These popular censures were also directed against the court, and particularly against the Queen, because, in order to court the Duke, she

caressed his mistress. The Neapolitans who had accompanied the court to Sicily gave great disgust. With few exceptions, they were persons sent to aggrandize themselves amongst an impoverished people, or to act as spies over an irritated multitude. In both ways they augmented the hatred the Sicilians habitually nurtured against the Neapolitans, and the discontents already excited became daily more exasperated.

The public money, with difficulty wrung from the impoverished islanders, despite of their bitter complaints, was shamefully lavished on Neapolitans and Calabrese; some of whom were insolent, others vicious, and all immoderate in their scale of expenses. In the mean while, the soldiers were without clothing, and their pay had fallen into arrears for months, and even for years; and their wretched condition proved the maladministration of the kingdom. The court, however, remitted nothing of its wonted luxury, as though the kingdom beyond the Faro could of itself supply that vortex to which the two kingdoms united could scarcely furnish enough. Hence, although some lands belonging to the

crown were sold to support the exorbitant expenses, yet the treasury was always in penury; and whilst the court still spent and squandered, every branch of the public service was left unpaid. The roads in particular, for which the parliament had assigned especial terms, showed in their broken up and neglected state that what had been allotted for them was converted to other uses.

To deepen the abyss still more, came the enormous expenditure occasioned by the factions of Calabria, by the defence of Gaeta, and by the different expeditions sent against Castel-a-mare, and the islands of Procida, Ischia, and Capri. The treasure which had been carried off in the flight from Naples, was already exhausted, although it had been of no trifling amount, and matters had come to such an extremity that the Queen, as a last resource, was obliged to pawn her dowry jewels, and other paraphernalia, for the sum of ten thousand ounces, which is about five thousand French Louis, or pounds sterling. The general indignation was increased by the reflection that England paid to the

Sicilian court three hundred thousand pounds sterling, in yearly subsidy; nor could the people comprehend how so much gold, Neapolitan, Sicilian, and English, was thrown with little or no result into the one absorbing gulf. The magnitude of the sums received was undoubted, and the poverty which resulted from the expenditure was pronounced a crime. The English, who paid a subsidy so ill-used, began themselves to lose their reputation with the people. "Do then the English," cried they, "send their money to Sicily, for the pay of Neapolitan spies, and Calabrian homicides? Is the specie of London brought to Palermo, only to protect the dependents of Arcoli, and the tyranny of Medici? Are the British stipends paid on the Sicilian soil, only to render heavier on the neck of the Sicilians that yoke which made them wretched, ere the court was held in their island, and more wretched since? Is so much foreign and native treasure sunk only to purchase an hourly dread of the reprisals of the Napoleonists?" Thus the English perceived that they were dealing with an ally who, having incurred the hatred of the people,

was communicating disrespect to them. Already was this openly spoken of in the London journals; and the government itself began to deliberate on the remedy. The result was, a determination to deprive the Queen of the authority which she had arrogated to herself in the administration; and to caress, conciliate, and strengthen the popular party.

The English resolved, before they resorted to open force, to try to remedy the existing evils by constitutional means, hoping much from the Sicilian parliament. The assembly had been convoked by the King in 1810, Medici having led the court to expect much from the liberality of its contributions. This Medici was a man of ability, and of an intermeddling character. Not devoid of courage, and confident in whatever he undertook, he hoped to mould the parliament to his will. He took his measures successfully with the representatives, who form the commons: some of those freely elected by the towns he gained over by promises or by gifts; other members were elected through his influence. Availing himself of a shameful defect in the

Sicilian constitution, he so managed that several towns were all represented by one and the same individual. These multiplex representatives were all bound to Medici, and dependents on his favour. He had besides dextrously insinuated himself into the favour of the clerical order, not a few of whom were inclined to second his designs. Thus far all was well arranged by Medici; but on the opposite hand, he erred much in two other respects; for, believing that the commons and the clergy rendered him secure, he neglected to court the baronial body, the most powerful of all, and, further, he employed certain persons who, although endowed with singular ability, had yet fallen under popular odium, for having in the parliament of 1806 shewn great zeal in augmenting the taxes. The barons, partly from regard to the public weal, partly from hatred of Medici, who had neglected or incensed them, made arrangements amongst themselves to thwart his measures. Amongst his adversaries, the prince of Belmonte, who had been exiled from court by his means, stood conspicuous. Belmonte was a man of wealth,

of the noblest lineage, and of great influence in Sicily; neither was he wanting in ability, nor deficient in liberality. Friendly to men of letters, courteous to strangers, his example proved that Sicily was not sterile in merit. Such were the virtues of his character; its defect was intolerable pride. He was bent on avenging himself on Caroline and Medici; the barons leagued with Belmonte. The minister soon became aware that if it were well to have won the dependent bodies to his side, it would have been better still to have acquired the friendship of the independent. The issue was, that the parliament granted a small augmentation to the donatives, but interposed so many difficulties in the modes of distributing and levying them, that it became impossible to collect them. More marked tokens of the dissatisfaction of the parliament were also displayed. It was customary to demand many favours of the King, favours that were conceded in proportion to the amount of the donatives granted; and now the barons, exulting in having made them so nugatory, ironically besought only his Majesty's favour. The example

was efficacious: the other two estates adopted the same address, except, only, that the clergy requested the King to appoint separate prisons for priests.

The Sicilians, who, like every other people, had always paid taxes unwillingly, and the more so when they were of opinion that their contributions were wasted by the administration, now raised shouts of applause throughout the island in favour of the barons; whilst, with envenomed censures they vilified Medici, and those who had supported him in parliament.

This parliament of 1810 is memorable in the history of Sicily. By it the lands held by feudal tenure were made allodial, and many baronies were abolished; the barons consenting readily, and with singular disinterestedness, to a reform that involved a material injury to themselves in the diminution of their revenues. It was, besides, decreed that, for the better distribution of the imports, new regulations should be made as to the payment of the duties; and, for the more equal distribution of the land tax, a general assessment of the lands was ordered. The

assessment was to be made on the contracts for rent, or on the average of their produce for the previous ten years. On these estimates a general census was formed, which, although imperfect, proved, nevertheless, a useful guide in a most intricate matter. The parliament also improved the judicial system, which was extremely necessary in those times, from the insufferable frequency of theft and robbery. The captains of all the cities and villages were, by the existing laws, obliged to make compensation out of their own goods, to all who in their districts lost by thieves or robbers. This obligation was seldom of any effect, as these said captains were poor men, who preferred flight or imprisonment to restitution.

The parliament now created as many companies of local guards as there were districts, awarding to each band the care of freeing its own district from offenders, and making it responsible for the robberies committed within its limits. The roads and scattered hamlets, that had previously been much infested by male-

factors, became more secure, and the people extolled the wisdom of the senate.

Thus supported by public opinion, the barons rose into greater credit. The Queen, who saw her own power wane in proportion as the parliament and the barons gained favour, ill brooked this change. Medici, whether of his own accord, as knowing that, both from being a Neapolitan and an adherent of the Queen, he was unpopular with the Sicilians, or else by Caroline's desire, resigned his place as minister of finance. To conciliate the people, the prince of Trabia, a Sicilian, was appointed to succeed him; but he knew more of commercial than of state affairs. He pleased the court awhile, but soon fell into disgrace, because he proposed to repress useless expenses, and to form improved regulations for the chamber of finance. Meanwhile, the taxes were collected with great difficulty, and every thing was falling to ruin. As an extreme remedy, a second parliament was summoned. This assembly gave greater facilities for the collection of the imposts, but refused to

grant larger donatives. Every promise or threat from the court proved vain; the barons were to be moved neither by gracious speeches, nor by proffered honours. It was impossible for the state to subsist in this situation: immediate aid was indispensable. One Tommasi, who was called to the royal councils, devised two expedients; the first was a tax of one per cent. *ad valorem*, on all private contracts, instruments, or covenants. To prevent frauds, an order was sent to the notaries and public office of Palermo and Messina to see to the execution of the edict. The other expedient proposed by Tommasi was the sale of certain possessions belonging to pious foundations, to foreigners, and to the Knights of Malta. Lest the sale should, for want of purchasers, become nugatory, it was to be effected by lottery. The effect of these two decrees did not answer expectation; for as discontents had been avowed, and opinion had become hostile, the intended remedies were converted into poison. First, the nation regarding as an outrage an act which they deemed an arbitrary infringement of the constitution, made a resolution, that all

private affairs, as the sale of lands, chattels, leases of houses or farms, and every other contract where the nature of the business might admit of it, should be trusted to the good faith of the parties, without resorting to the intervention of a notary. As to the lottery, notwithstanding the exorbitant gain to be acquired by it, none applied for tickets, and the project fell to the ground; for the people preferred hazarding the property they actually possessed, and renounced the alluring prospect of gaining that offered to them, rather than subject themselves to a tax which they considered illegal and contrary to the statutes of the kingdom. These resolutions were honourable to the Sicilians. The Queen disposed of the lottery tickets to her courtiers, dependent magistrates, partisans, and adherents—a feeble resource in such extremity.

Such a situation could not be long maintained unaltered. The Queen, who, although she deserved praise for her firmness, merited censure for the means she employed and the end she proposed, followed her usual line of conduct. The barons were equally steady, nor were they

men to let occasions pass them. The English now interposed; for they saw that the courses followed by the government favoured the designs of the French, by rousing the ill-will of the people; and as they had proved that it was useless to give advice to the Queen, they were resolved to avail themselves of the new aspect which affairs had taken. All wished to command —Queen, English, barons, alike; some from pride, some from cupidity, some from a desire for constitutional laws. In this crisis an occurrence took place, which materially affected the fortunes of Sicily. Those barons who were most adverse to the administration of the Queen, and most desirous of seeing the government regulated on a better basis, came forward, and presented a remonstrance to the King, supplicating the revocation of the two edicts as contrary to the Sicilian constitution, till then inviolate, as to the right of levying money. They carried the same remonstrance to the national deputation, which, elected by the senate, sat according to the Sicilian laws in the recess of parliament: the Prince of Belmonte was at the head of this move-

ment. The Queen, whose resolution was not easily to be shaken, not only refused to bend beneath this storm, but even persuaded the King to have the barons arrested, and conducted to a place where they would have far other occupation for their thoughts than framing remonstrances on the measures of the government. Five of the chief barons of the kingdom, the prince of Belmonte, before mentioned, the princes of Aci, of Villarmora, of Villa Franca, and the duke of Anjou, were arrested, conducted to different islands, and confined in various prisons, where they were barbarously ill treated. In the secret councils of the Queen they even spoke of making their punishment capital, her most devoted adherents thinking thus to gratify her wishes; but Medici, in whose counsels she most confided, negatived the proposal, alleging that so severe a measure would undoubtedly produce a revolution.

These things gave great anxiety to the English; for they could not depend on the favour of the people, nor had they more confidence in the Queen, as, since the marriage of Maria Louisa,

she had become connected with Napoleon; and as they well knew her character, they knew that she would throw herself upon any scheme, however wild, and even upon the friendship of Napoleon, if thus she might still command; regarding as little the displeasure of England as she had hitherto regarded that of France;—so haughty and indomitable was her spirit. The English, therefore, no longer able to rule with the Queen, and doubtful of the good-will of the people, wished to try if by an union with the barons they might not still be able to govern the island.

With this view, Lord Amherst, the English ambassador at the court of Palermo, was recalled to London, and Lord William Bentinck, a man of great resolution, was sent in his stead. The discourses of this nobleman were all in favour of liberty. Now was one strong character pitted against another as resolute. Bentinck had no sooner reached Palermo than he entered into negociation with the Queen, advising her of the dangers that environed her, representing the necessity of a change of measures, and proposing

a reform of the abuses which had been introduced into the administration and constitution of the kingdom. The conditions he insisted on were most obnoxious to Caroline; for he demanded the revocation of the two edicts, and the liberation and recall of the five barons, intimating that if she did not conform to the desires of England, he would take such decided measures as would render her consent unnecessary. The Queen, unused to hear herself addressed in such a tone, and still less used to tolerate it, so far from yielding to these representations, became but the more obstinate, affirming that she, not Bentinck, was the sovereign of Sicily: he, however, persisted, and wished to push her to some conclusion, till at length, to end the matter, and to free herself from his presence, Caroline categorically demanded by what right he obtruded himself into the affairs of the kingdom? and why he had so audaciously exceeded his credentials? "Where was his mandate for interfering in the government of the kingdom of Sicily? Let him send for it and show it; let him study to act the part of ambassador, not presume to arrogate

to himself the authority of prime minister, much less that of king; Caroline of Austria was not one who would submit to become the slave of him who was sent, not to command, but to pay her reverence." Bentinck felt himself touched to the quick; for he had in truth received instructions from his government to advise, but no authority to coerce. Still, he would not draw back, and replied, that if he had no such mandate he would send and get one; he accordingly prepared to put his threat in execution. Caroline, seeing her danger, resolved to hold a second conference with Bentinck, not from any change of purpose, however, but in the hope of dissuading her opponent: with some difficulty Bentinck consented to the interview; but as the discussion took place between two who were alike inflexible, it never could be brought to an amicable conclusion, and ended at last with these final words pronounced by the ambassador, as he quitted the presence of the Queen: "*Either a constitution or a revolution.*" Without further delay he departed, went to London, and in three months returned with ample powers.

The English ministry seeing that remonstrances were of no avail, gave to Bentinck the supreme command of all the English troops in the island, so that whatever his counsels failed to effect, the force he commanded was equal to accomplish. Again he endeavoured to win the Queen by persuasion, but she persisted in her determination to act for herself, and not at the beck of others, whether of the English or the Sicilian parliament. Bentinck then declared that he would not only arrest the King, but Caroline herself, and send them to England, appointing the son of the hereditary prince, Don Francisco, a child of two years old, to govern, under a regency with the duke of Orleans and the prince of Belmonte at its head. That his threats might have due efficacy, he brought the twelve thousand English troops that had been quartered in different and distant parts of the island into the vicinity of Palermo. The Queen, seeing to what extremity things had come, and yet retaining her constancy of purpose, summoned the ministers and her most trusted friends to discuss these afflicting subjects in council. She

declared that she would in no wise yield to foreign domination; the soldiery must be appealed to; by force would she repel force! The council represented to her that troops in such a miserable plight could be little depended upon; they had long had neither clothing, nor rations, nor even arms; the display of a little bread would attract them to any side. Caroline therefore submitting to fortune, but unconquered in spirit, withdrew to one of her country seats, at a short distance from the capital. Thus were the machinations of Napoleon and his partisans defeated in Sicily, and the English party triumphed. Hapless those countries which, unable to support themselves, have to seek the patronage of others. Bentinck having got the entire authority into his own hands, and fearing, not the King in himself, but the Queen through him, obliged him to resign the royal authority on the plea of illness to his son, the hereditary prince, as vice-general of the kingdom. Bentinck was elected captain-general of Sicily, and consequently united the command of the nation and the British force.

The first and chief acts of the new adminis-

tration were to recall the imprisoned barons, to dismiss the ministers of the Queen, to annul the edict for levying the duty on private contracts, and to appoint Belmonte minister for foreign affairs, Villarmosa, of finance, Aci, of war and the marine. Some desired to punish the most devote adherents of the late administration with exile, imprisonment, and other penalties, especially the spies, who were the more detested, as being chiefly foreigners from the other side of the Faro; but the new ministry knowing that their administration would be good exactly in proportion as it differed from the former one, prudently forbore, resolving on mild measures. Punishing therefore only a few, who were peculiarly odious to the people, they let the others sink into oblivion. They desired amelioration, not revolution; professed an unwillingness to adopt new and unusual forms, and a desire to restore ancient customs, only adapting them to existing circumstances. The people rejoiced much at these changes, and exulted in being relieved from the spies: they said that the fortunes of Sicily were retrieved.

Meanwhile, the prince vicar convoked the parliament: his mandate summoned the members to provide for Sicily a good and free government, to remedy abuses, and to remodel the constitution. In this assembly there were some who were partisans of the Queen, either because they advocated an absolute government, or because they were indebted to her for their power, their wealth, or their honours; but the period was unfavourable to them: there were partisans of a free constitution, many inclining towards the English forms of government; and to these the crisis was favourable: there were also partisans of the French; and these latter coalesced with the Queen's faction, and as they could not openly advocate absolute power, whilst public opinion ran so strongly against it, they proposed an excess of liberty, hoping that licence would give birth to despotism.

The baronial estate had greater weight than the others: Bentinck was most eager in inciting it to promulgate liberty and liberal ordinances. They began with the upper ranks of the state. The Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman faith was

established as the sole religion of the kingdom. This faith the sovereign was to profess on penalty of deposition. The legislative power, and the power of levying taxes, were invested in the parliament alone; its decrees, approved by the King, were to have the force of law; the royal assent, or veto, was to be expressed in this form: "*It is the pleasure of the King*," or "*the King forbids*." The executive power was invested in the King alone, whose person was sacred and inviolable. The judges were entirely independent, both of the parliament and the King. The ministers were responsible for every act, the senate having the right of examining and impeaching them for high treason.

The senate was composed of two chambers: one of the commons or representatives of the people; the other of the peers of the realm: the representatives were elected by the people, according to previous usage; the peers of the realm were, whosoever had a seat on the ecclesiastical or the baronial bench, and whomsoever the King ennobled. The power of summoning parliament resided in the King; but he was obliged to con-

voke it once a year; the nation gave to the sovereign a splendid revenue, and took to itself the administration of the crown lands; no Sicilian could be molested either in his possessions or person, unless in conformity to the laws sanctioned by parliament; they instituted peculiar judicial forms for the peers of the realm; the commons alone had the power of proposing subsidies, that is, donatives; the parliament was to observe what parts of the constitution of Great Britain might be suitable for Sicily, and those were to be adopted to promote the public weal.

These were the chief heads of the Sicilian constitution given by Lord Bentinck, concerning the fundamental ordinances of the state. The people received these laws with extreme satisfaction; for equality of rights and security of persons are sure to please every where; besides, at the instigation of the barons, who were excited at once by generosity and by the desire of popularity, the parliament established certain fundamental principles which relieved the people from an oppressive burthen,

and deservedly raised the name of the nobles to the highest honour; for besides the general joy occasioned by the principal articles that were decreed, there was an astonishment not unmixed with gratitude at certain additional clauses, stipulated by the barons themselves, who spontaneously proposed and carried in parliament the abolition of the feudal system in Sicily, annulled all privileges arising from it, and made all the lands free and allodial. All investitures, subsidiary aids, manorial dues, and every burthen derived from the feudal claims, were abolished: as for tolls and fees of various kinds, individuals or communes were authorized to compound for them. To appreciate duly the magnanimity and patriotism of these voluntary sacrifices, it must be considered that a great part of the wealth of the Sicilian barons was derived from these feudal rights; and there were families who, in renouncing them, lost seventy thousand francs yearly income. The abolition of the privileged chases, that is, of the prohibition game laws, gave sustenance to many villages that had been reduced to the utmost misery from the

destruction occasioned by the wild animals, that royal or baronial rights forbade them to kill. These rights were now limited according to the English system; and preserves were allowed only in lands walled round. I must here mention, as characteristic of the spirit of the nation, that the King, to whom it was irksome to have his wonted chases circumscribed, exerted himself to persuade the peasantry who resided near his parks to renounce the liberty granted them by parliament; but his efforts were wholly unsuccessful. The Sicilians, exulting in the liberty they had obtained, extolled the new decrees and the generosity of the barons.

Nothing now remained but to obtain the royal assent, or rather the ratification of the decrees by the prince vicar. There was some difficulty in this matter; for the Queen, it is said, importuned her son to refuse his consent. It was also reported that she endeavoured to excite an insurrection at Palermo, in order to throw the new government into confusion: reports went still further, and whispered a more dreadful tale; accusing her of having caused a large and strong

bottle filled with an explosive powder, splinters, and other deadly instruments, to be thrown into the hall where the senate was assembled. Certain it is, that the deadly instrument did burst, but at the embrasure of a window, so that, beyond creating alarm and confusion, it had no effect. These things were said of the Queen, not that she had actually done them, but because she was considered capable of doing them.

The sovereign felt it a hard trial to divest himself of his authority; but Bentinck, the parliament, and the popular impatience, at length compelled him. The prince vicar at last ratified the decrees; and for this concession he was praised by many, and condemned by few. The Queen, no longer able to resist, was constrained by Bentinck, who, knowing her indomitable spirit, saw, with uneasiness, her vicinity to the seat of government, to withdraw to Castelvetrano, a territory about sixty miles from Palermo. Bentinck only awaited the fine weather of spring to send her to Vienna; certain that, so long as she should remain in the island, the new modelled state could never be tranquil, much less take root and flourish.

At Castelvetrano Caroline continued to brood over these sources of dissatisfaction; and when the month of January arrived, it is said that she returned precipitately to the King, in the night time, and by the urgency of her solicitations induced him to resume the helm of government; however that might be, the King unexpectedly appeared at Palermo, summoned the ministers, and announcing the perfect recovery of his health, declared his intention of resuming the royal authority. This strange occurrence seemed likely to entail many serious consequences. Bentinck, early apprised of it, instantly sent orders to assemble the troops quartered in the surrounding country. So great was their promptitude, that at midnight twelve thousand English, armed at all points, as if in open war, entered Palermo, and secured the safety of the new government. Had Bentinck been less expeditious at this crisis, he would have been too late; for already the partisans of the ancient administration boasted of having overthrown the new constitution.

It was Ferdinand's intention to revoke the

articles granted; to replace every thing on its ancient basis, and to recall the Queen; for his ultimate object was to free himself from the dominion of England, and the arrogance occasioned by the democrats. A solemn thanksgiving was chaunted in the cathedral for the King's recovery; plaudits were expected, but none were heard; for they who, on the one hand, bore with repugnance the controul of the English, on the other dreaded the return of the Queen and her Neapolitans. The commander-in-chief, in the mean time, had perfected his preparations; troops, under arms, garrisoned Palermo; and the noise of artillery drawn through the streets excited much alarm. The terrified citizens asked what this might mean, and lamented that an occasion should have been given for all this military array. The King sent the governor of the city to Bentinck, to ask what all these warlike demonstrations signified. The English general answered ironically, that having heard of the King's recovery he wished to display the satisfaction he felt; the soldiers and the artillery had been assembled to celebrate the happy event.

The Sicilian pondered awhile, perceiving that Bentinck was rather jeering than in earnest; and then asked him if he had weighed the consequences. He replied, that Ferdinand had appointed him commander-in-chief of his forces, and entrusted to him the tranquillity of Palermo and of the kingdom; that to provide for the due execution of his office, he had prepared the artillery and soldiers. Ferdinand, in this interval, by some fortuitous accident, perhaps from distress of mind, relapsed into his former infirm state of health; and, confirming his son as vicar general, returned to the country, having lost much reputation by an attempt ill commenced, and disgracefully terminated.

Bentinck wished to employ the commotion this unlucky expedition had occasioned, to persuade the King to resign the royal authority entirely in favour of his son. He even sent soldiery (enforcing his words with deeds) to create disturbances in the country which surrounded Ferdinand's retirement; but the King would not allow himself to be drawn into any such resolution; for the Neapolitan exiles, most of

whom, if not all, were adherents of the Queen, effectually dissuaded him from the final abdication. They feared, and not unreasonably, that if the prince vicar became king, they should find themselves placed in an unhappy predicament, from the enmity of the Sicilian barons, who had great influence with the prince. They could not return to their own country, which was in the power of the Napoleonists; and were Sicily to expel them, they knew not where to seek either succour or asylum.

This unsuccessful attempt to recover the royal authority, manifested to Bentinck the disposition of the Queen: wherefore, not a little apprehensive of her taking some precipitate measures, he persuaded himself that it was better to condemn a queen to exile than to risk the authority of England. Having recourse, therefore, to the strongest measures, he constrained Caroline to abandon Sicily. Driven by the winds and her adverse fortunes on barbarous coasts, she suffered incredible hardships ere she could reach her native Vienna, embrace once more her kindred, and breathe again her native air: in

these alone could she hope to find consolation for her loss of power. But this alleviation she did not long enjoy; she was taken suddenly ill, and soon after passed from this life to another. Thus ended the life of Caroline of Austria and Sicily;—at one time, the promoter of free institutions, at another the most determined advocate of arbitrary government;—at first, favouring the philosophers, subsequently, their bitterest enemy;—at one time the violent opponent of the Emperor Napoleon, because of his preponderating power; at another, his adherent, from too strong a love of power in herself;—once protected by the English, then forced by them into exile. This only is left uncertain, whether it was the times or she herself that were so mutable. Yet, if we may judge of character, not by one individual action in a life, but by its general tenor, it will appear evident that she ought to be estimated rather as a resolute and bold, than as a fickle and weak woman. Neither, amidst the varying ambition of the day, should I reprove her love of power, if it had not led her to such excessive severities. From that impu-

tation, neither I nor any man, I believe, will ever by any arguments seek to excuse her, not even on the plea of the sentiment excited by the dreadful fate of her sister, the Queen of France; for if men were to go on heaping up vengeance upon vengeance, they would arrive at the last pitch of barbarism, even to tearing each other in pieces with their nails and teeth. The Creator has grafted in our hearts compassion for the wretched, and the joy felt in pardoning the culpable, in order that mankind might be arrested mid-way in the career of cruelty; and when an incomprehensible folly, or our mad passion, urges us on to torture or to shed the blood of our fellow creatures, a salutary emotion of pity rises, to restrain us from rushing on to the utmost extremity of evil.

The prince vicar being re-established in the government, and the Queen gone, the ministers, especially Bentinck, who assisted at all their councils, urged the parliament to continue its political labours. It gave completion to the constitution, and put it into operation, much to the satisfaction of the people. Thus happy was its commence-

ment; but to this the sequel did not correspond. Too soon did that pest of free governments, popular licentiousness, break out: too soon appeared that bane to all countries governed by foreigners; namely, the governors squandering favours upon the meanest, the most ignorant, the most incompetent persons. The popular party, now the strongest, and always intemperate in its desires, began to keep no measures with the nobles, but displayed their rage against them, both by actions and expressions. There was in this conduct, not only blindness to the future, but ingratitude for the past; because some of the nobles had been the authors of the constitution, while the others had voluntarily accepted it. Now finding that they could no longer command the same respect, or enjoy the same tranquillity as formerly, they became averse to it, and desired to alter that which their own wishes and their own exertions had effected. The greater part of the elections to the House of Commons, were of the worst description, most of them attributable to Bentinck, who gave more weight to services rendered to himself than to those which had

been rendered, or were likely to be rendered for the public good. The unworthiness of the representatives brought the whole assembly into disrepute; and the people, making no distinction between the spies and retainers of Caroline and the spies and retainers of Bentinck, conceived an opinion that rescripts and laws were but so many nugatory words of writing, and that public acts and their consignees were invariably the same, to wit, they patronized the most unworthy, and depressed the most meritorious. Some felt a contempt, some a hatred, some an indifference towards this new constitution, and classed together Caroline, Acton, and Bentinck. I revert to my ancient complaint, that the laws conducive to liberty are in Europe always subverted by evil habits and by ambition. The imposts levied at the time of the Bentinck parliament, according to the principles of the constitution, were much heavier than those paid previously in virtue of the ancient statutes of the kingdom. The reason of this was partly the necessity of paying the foreign troops, partly that of supplying by new taxes the contributions formerly raised from the

now suppressed feudal rights. These burdens were felt by the people, who generally estimate the degree of liberty they possess by the sums they have to pay, rather than by the right of giving their votes at elections. The representations of those in office were disregarded, as coming from accomplices, and others were too discontented to make such explanations; the foundations of the recent constitution were giving way, and the affairs of the new administration were much embarrassed: still it stood for awhile; for the Queen was dead, and there was none to give it the first shock; but no sooner was Ferdinand, by the events of 1814, restored to his throne in Naples, than by a single gesture he abolished this Sicilian constitution, not only without exciting any commotion, but without even occasioning a regret amongst the people. From this it follows, that not high-sounding words, but the realization of immediate happiness, is necessary to form a stable foundation for national constitutions. The people are not metaphysicians; they measure their happiness, not by what they hear, but by what they experience.

In fine, Ferdinand averred that the constitution had been imposed by force; Bentinck, that it had been established by choice; Castlereagh spoke equivocally. It was true that it had at first been desired, and then little liked,—the fault rather of the peasants than of the nobles, yet less theirs than that of the foreigners. Even here we see another instance of that vice which in our verbose and ambitious Europe, vests the popular power, that power which should at once serve as the moderator of the government and as the protector of the people, in numerous assemblies. In the actual condition of Europe this is the worst expedient that can be devised; nor know I what would happen to England herself, if she had not her venal boroughs. By an enormous defect alone—that is, by these boroughs, does the British constitution maintain itself. The ancient Italian wisdom devised a better scheme of government; and if that which was only an unacknowledged or ill-organized principle in the constitutions of the old, or even of some among the modern Italian states, were brought into action under wise regulations,—a measure

which would be far from difficult—nay, is easy of accomplishment, then liberty and government would be alike secure.

Whilst Lord William Bentinck ruled the island of Sicily, Sir Edward Pellew was master of the Mediterranean and Adriatic seas: the continent was commanded by one power, the ocean was the empire of another. Some trifling affairs occurred now in one sea, now in another, but all of little moment, so recognised was the superiority of one party, and the depression of the other. Since 1811, the English had captured many transport ships at Cape Palinuro; and afterwards, in order to press the siege of Ragusa, they made themselves masters, at Ragonizza, in the Adriatic, of a convoy of vessels likewise laden with provisions. A well contested naval combat in the roads of Lissa, one of the islands that serve to defend Dalmatia, was an exploit of more importance; the French frigates, la Couronne and la Bellone, were taken by the English, the Flora escaped, and the Favourite went down. Napoleon gave the public an account of this affair, but after his own manner,

employing the name of General Giflenga, who had been present at it. If none might venture to say, that the Emperor lost when he conquered, still less could they dare to do so, when he really had been baffled. Giflenga was mute, because he could not presume to speak, although the facts were sufficiently different from the statement given in his official letter.

Already had the fates assailed Napoleon: the ambition which had never for a moment slumbered in his breast had perverted his understanding. Ruler of France, of Germany, of Italy, he could not divest his mind of the idea that he ought also to be the sovereign lord of Europe throughout its whole extent. Russia and England, that a doubtful friend, this a persevering enemy, disturbed his dreams; nor could he patiently tolerate that those two powers should impede his rising to that point where his desires would be—I cannot say satiated, for that his measureless ambition evermore forbade, but for a time more satisfied. As the half of Europe was insufficient, his cupidity never pausing at any limits, he demanded the whole.

Two great empires, such as were his and Alexander's, could not, he thought, subsist at once within a world: with this idea had he stretched his own confines to the frontiers of Russia; for this he united Hamburgh and Lubeck to France; for this fortified Dantzig; for this created the duchy of Warsaw; for this held clutched within his talons that miserable Prussia, which resembled rather the lifeless shadow of an extinct power, than one endued with vital energy. He was aware of all the enmity which was brooding against him, especially in Germany, and was also aware that this disaffection was fostered by the mighty power of Russia. These thoughts, joined with his eager desire to stand alone supreme, disturbed his mind the more, as he became convinced that he could never subdue England if he had not first subdued Russia: and here too there lurked, it seems, a grand idea; nor was the friendship which he then cultivated with the Turkish sultan considered any obstacle. Napoleon, conqueror of Russia, looked forward to becoming the master of Constantinople, thus uniting in himself the sovereignty of the eastern

empire, and in fine, of the whole of the Roman dominion. The East Indies also he coveted, in order to accomplish at once the destruction of England, and to acquire fame equalling that of the Macedonian Alexander. Let no man say that I here relate fantastic tales of pure invention; for not only was the over-land passage to India talked of at the time, but consultations were held upon it, the countries were explored, the resting places marked, the distance calculated, and connections were formed in Persia. The sycophant tribe already laboured to disseminate the idea, that the enterprise was not so difficult as was commonly believed. Russia was the only obstacle; but the Emperor of the French hoped to subjugate her, and thus acquire the sovereignty of the whole world. England knew this, and kept constant watch at the side of Alexander, in order to extricate him from the fatal grasp of Napoleon. She sent also an ambassador extraordinary to Ispahan, in order to cultivate a good understanding with the senate of Persia. On the other side, Russia saw that the contest must be risked, and thought the

sooner it were entered on, the less hazardous it would prove. One half of the world rose in arms against the other; both empires put forth their utmost strength. On the one side was arrayed a powerful and numerous army, chiefly French, formed by the victories of so many wars, and the long-tried experience, the perfect skill, the stupendous renown of the unconquered captain, who, himself alone, brought to the combat such a weight of war. It was favoured too by mastery in the arts of corruption, by exquisite skill in alluring men to its standard; it was favoured by the war Turkey already waged against Russia, and by that which Persia was prepared to engage her in.

On the side of Russia, other circumstances were opposed to these: the remoteness of her territory, assailable only in front, immense deserts, a climate of fearful cold, the entire devotion of the people to the Emperor Alexander, the resolution of his soldiers, of whom it was anticipated that their first efforts would be good, their last still better. The aid of England was of great importance; the example held out to the

west by the war beyond the Pyrenees was also momentous in its result; the exploits of the Spaniards struck on the hearts of the Prussians, and kindling every soul, however tame, excited them to the deliverance of their country. "The Spaniards, they said, a people latterly unused to war, had risen against the common tyrant,—the martial Prussians tamely and ignominiously crouched before him. Those, Catholics used to servile obedience, rose to combat; these, Protestants used to freedom, were patient of subjection. There was in Spain no mighty name to support; in Prussia most had seen, and all revered, the glory of Frederick the Second: his sword, which had fallen into the power of the conqueror, had been taken by him and treated with ridicule—the mean triumph of an uncivilized warrior; that sword waved them on to vengeance; the voice of the injured Louisa spoke from her tomb, and reproached the Prussians with their supineness. Nor was the rest of Germany tranquil. Austria herself, though her energy had been so much diminished, thrilled at the prospect of a propitious hour. Even Bavaria, who, from

envy, and fear of Austria, had always been the adherent of France, was now influenced by the common spirit of enmity:—so oppressive and irksome had Napoleon's domination become to his friends, as well as to his foes, and perhaps most so to the former. As to Hesse, besides the common slavery, it was indignant at the puerile and arrogant conduct of Jerome, the brother of Napoleon." Thus none were disposed to stand idle spectators of the event of the war, and all awaited only a favourable opportunity to declare themselves: these were the hopes of Russia.

In Italy opinions differed; but that peninsula was of minor importance, from its distance from the scene of action, and there was no likelihood of seeing Guerilla bands there like the Spanish: besides, in Upper Italy, the duration of Napoleon's sway had partly accustomed them to recognise it, and partly thrown the ancient sovereigns into oblivion. In Lower Italy the cruelties which had been practised had alienated the people from their former rulers; and if the lower orders, especially in the provinces, were not attached to Joachim, the nobles loved him, and their

support was powerful in the state. The central division, comprising Rome and Tuscany, fretted in impotence. The Piedmontese, a warlike race, rejoiced in being called to share the martial toils of France. Of the kingdom of Italy, the Milanese territory rather rejoiced in, than lamented its dependence on the unconquered chief; for it had a splendid capital, a name, and an army of its own, native magistrates and officers, and an appearance of independence: besides, the military glory of Napoleon had there commenced, had there reiterated its triumphs; the public monuments were magnificent; a sort of national pride had sprung up. The Venetian part, on the contrary, was averse to Napoleon: but what had the Venetians to hope? or for whom should they combat? They knew this only, that for themselves it was vain to struggle; they had nothing to expect for their noble country—ever the booty of the conqueror, or the ransom given for other spoil.

The two potent Emperors having resolved to combat for the sovereignty of the world, began, as usual, by the strife of words, alleging against each other trivial causes of complaint, much too

insignificant to justify the immensity of their hostile preparations. They both knew the real motive of the war; the entire world felt it to be the impossibility of living together on the vast earth. Napoleon, the most impetuous and the most ambitious, urged on by his fate, was the first to assail his foe. The war raged in the remotest regions: it desolated the shores of the Boristhenes; it spread destruction along the Volga. The Russians gave battle at Smolensko, and again at Borodina, on the Moskwa. Napoleon took Moscow; he took it, and exulted over it. Fool that he was! he saw not that God had already blasted his pride! On the confines of Asia it was decreed that his fortunes should perish. Moscow, that immense city, was consumed—the cause and the presage of dreadful calamities. A defeat sustained by Murat showed Napoleon that the enemy was enterprizing, and that it was no longer time to linger in the depths of Russia. The choice of the road by which to retreat yet remained to him; he endeavoured to pass by Kaluga and Tula, intending to winter in the southern pro-

vinces of Russia. The final contest took place at Maló-Yaroslavetz, where the soldiers of the kingdom of Italy displayed the utmost valour. There shone conspicuously the merit of Kutusov, the generalissimo of Alexander; there perished the hopes of Napoleon; there the destinies of the world were changed. Repulsed in a desperate engagement, Napoleon was obliged to turn anew to the desolated road of Smolensko. The cold of Russia exterminated the army. France bewails, and will for ever bewail—Italy laments, and evermore must lament, the flower of her people, cut off for the ambition of one man, who, in his pride, sought to defy Heaven itself. But Heaven manifested its power. This was the fulness of time that had been prophecied by Pius the Seventh. Let the ambitious, who exult in the agonized cries of slaughtered armies, learn to be moderate and just.

At the news of Napoleon's discomfiture, Prussia impetuously rose against her intolerable oppressor, and not waiting even the signal of the sovereign, sprang to avenge and re-assert

her freedom. Napoleon returned to his throne at Paris; but recent events had diminished the fame of his military glory. Murat, bewildered by occurrences so extraordinary, abandoned the army, and returned to Naples. The command was taken by the Viceroy Eugene. Joachim was dissatisfied with Napoleon, and indignant at his having traversed his designs against Sicily; nor was he ignorant of the negociations which had been opened with Caroline on matters prejudicial to his throne at Naples. On the other hand, the allies, chiefly the English, were resolved to put forth certain declarations that they knew would be well pleasing to the Italians, and by which they hoped easily to rouse the whole peninsula. Now, they said, had the time arrived for giving Italy an independent political existence. In glowing colours they depicted the tyranny of Napoleon; and, with delusive representations, laboured to turn every thought towards freedom. Bentinck, whether to prove the feelings of the people, or from sincerity in the cause, expressed himself on the subject in the most spirit-stirring lan-

guage, promising them the prompt and willing aid of Britain. Joachim knew all this; on his return, therefore, from Moscow, he visited Milan, where, more than in other districts of Italy, these desires were kindled, in order to discover what the times portended. But, frivolous man that he was, although his countenance was still impressed with his recent terror, he began to make vast boasts of what he would do, and what he would say; talked of the times being propitious for the independence of Italy; that he was equal to the enterprize, and willing to effect it. Having uttered these vaunting speeches, which, however, were not altogether without effect, he returned to his own kingdom. Knowing the man, and desiring to unite him with the allies in order to attack Napoleon from the utmost verge of Italy, Bentinck encouraged him to assume the standard of the champion of Italian independence. He extolled his valour, his warlike train, his troops; he inflated him with hopes; affirmed, "that were his arms united to those of the confederates, every doubt would be removed of the final issue of the enterprize;

that the disturber and tyrant of the world would be overthrown; that the allies would acknowledge Joachim as King of Naples; otherwise, his throne, if not recognized and confirmed by Russia and England, must ever be tottering and insecure; that for him to be acknowledged and maintained, a recent king in the midst of ancient dynasties, and in the very sight of the natural and legitimate sovereign, whose claim to the kingdom of Naples was yet uncancelled, would require the free consent of all, and for this purpose it was essential to him to form new connexions. Of what moment to him were now the conquered Napoleon and his frozen soldiers? and how could they aid him? In securing his own throne, he would secure also the safety and the liberty of Italy. Thus would he immortalize his name, and convert the odious title of intrusive king into that of legitimate monarch and magnanimous liberator. Let him then unsheathe his sword in the cause of the allies, separate himself from Napoleon, and proclaim the independence of Italy. England pledged herself to aid him. The enterprize

would be easily accomplished, and as the labour would be mutual, the honour and the reward should be common also." In this manner Bentinck urged Murat to join the confederation. The affair had proceeded so far, that the English general had already gone, not to Messina, lest that should excite the suspicions of Frederic, but to Catanea, in order to have a better opportunity of ascertaining the inclinations of the new king and of forwarding the negociation. He was not without hope of a favourable conclusion, when letters from Napoleon reached Joachim. Magnifying every favourable circumstance, they averred that the conscript soldiers of France marched with the readiest obedience, that the armies were augmenting, that the people spontaneously voted large sums to the treasury, that France would soon come forth on the field more formidable than ever, and that, in fine, the revenue and the fortunes of the Emperor were retrieved. These tidings and the mutability of Murat's character occasioned him to break off all negociation with Bentinck, and he resolved to persevere in his adherence to

Napoleon. Bentinck took this ill, and was so enraged at losing all hope of uniting him to the confederacy, that although Joachim, to soften his disappointment, sent him, as a present, a rich and splendid sabre, he would never again treat with him, nor listen to the overtures that he endeavoured to make at the period of Napoleon's ultimate discomfiture in Germany. In consequence of this, Murat, laying aside all idea of the independence of Italy, espoused the part of Austria, hoping, in so doing, to found his own greatness on the dependence of others.

Having recovered from the first shock of the Russian disasters, Napoleon had returned into himself, wisely to weigh every contingency, and rigorously to provide against every emergency, adversity having taught him wisdom. He reflected, that to conciliate the Pope would forward all his plans, and avail much in the minds of the Italians to secure the stability of his government at such a dangerous crisis. He therefore retracted the demands made at Savona, and inclining to peace, ratified the concordat on the 25th January at Fontainebleau. The chief

articles were—"That the Pope should exercise his pontifical office throughout France and the kingdom of Italy after the manner and custom of his predecessors; that he should send ministers to other potentates, and receive theirs with the usual privileges and immunities of the diplomatic body; that the unsold property of the Holy See should be restored, and that already disposed of, compensated for by an annual payment of two millions of francs." In conformity with this concordat, and in virtue of the present indulgence, the Pope agreed to grant canonical institution to the archbishops and bishops nominated by the Emperor for the empire of France and the kingdom of Italy, in six months after notice of such nomination should be communicated to him. If six months should elapse without such institution from the Pope, then the metropolitan should grant it; or if a metropolitan were in question, the most ancient bishop of the province should institute him: nor should any see remain vacant beyond a year. The Pope, as well in France as in Italy, should nominate to six bishoprics, to be fixed by com-

mon consent. The six suburban bishoprics were to be restored, and the Pope was to nominate to them; the unsold property to be restored to these sees, that which had been sold to be repurchased; the bishops of the Roman states to be replaced in their dioceses; the sees of the Tuscan and Genoese territories to be settled by mutual consent; wherever the residence of the Pope should be fixed, there the propaganda, penitentiary, and archives should be located. The Emperor promised to receive into his favour those cardinals, bishops, priests, and laymen, who had incurred his displeasure. It was to be understood that the Holy Father consented to the abovementioned articles, on account of the actual state of the church, and of the promises made by Napoleon to extend his potent aid to assist religion in the many difficulties which assaulted her in the present times. The future residence of the Pope was left undetermined: some talked of Avignon, some of Rome. If in this treaty, besides the avowed concessions, the Pope recovered, as seems probable by a secret article, his city of Rome, it will be evident that the

captive conquered his captor. Napoleon hastened to publish the treaty of Fontainebleau, and aware of how much importance it was, raised great acclamations on the subject. The Pope complained heavily of this precipitate promulgation; for he had desired that it should not be published until it was fulfilled in all its clauses.

The mildness of the season now permitted the opening of the campaign. Napoleon re-assembled his troops with extreme celerity, and promising himself more than ever from the future, re-appeared in strength and with the boldest bearing on the German plains. He fought the Russians—he fought the Prussians, in desperate encounters; with the utmost valour he also fought the Austrians, who now turned against him, excited by ancient hatred, and encouraged by his recent reverses. But the battle of Leipzig put an end to his power. The whole of Germany, changing with his fortunes, sprung with eager enthusiasm to liberty: the people of the different provinces zealously strove with each other in what they called a holy undertaking, and rushing to arms, avenged

themselves for their long-sustained injuries. The French soil alone afforded refuge to the conquered Napoleon. Thus the long-felt dislike to the domination of Napoleon, and the universal indignation, had removed half the difficulties which had erewhile impeded the general desire. A fearful tempest, subversive of its destinies, hovered over Italy. Napoleon, who had been in nowise deceived as to the impending struggles, had sent Eugene into Italy, that he might prepare for the approaching war. The Prince was welcomed with some attachment by the people of the kingdom, not that he showed himself fired with zeal for its independence, for even then he showed sufficient docility in fulfilling the will of his father, but because his disposition was amiable and moderate. In this last emergency, however, he so rigorously executed the mandate of Napoleon, as well in hastening on the new levies as in extorting contributions from the people, that their affection for him was changed to hatred. Before I relate the result of the military operations in this quarter, it is necessary to

explain the political intrigues which were carried on in these times, more especially those which regarded Italian affairs.

When Napoleon was still at Dresden, the allies (to whom Austria had already gone over) required him to restore the Illyrian provinces, to re-establish the liberty of the Hanseatic towns, and to consent to nominate, in concurrence with the confederation, independent sovereigns for the kingdoms of Italy and Holland, to evacuate Spain, and to send the Pope back to Rome. Subsequently, believing that the defeats he had sustained might render him more disposed to peace, they required him, without however making it an indispensable condition, to give up the confederation of the Rhine, and cease to style himself mediator of Switzerland. That haughty spirit, ever buoyed up with vain expectations, and presuming on his fortunes above the want of reasonable men, disdained to yield, and resolutely rejected the proposals. As to Italy, the voice of common fame avers that the confederates, not having been able to gain the acquiescence of Napoleon, laboured to seduce the mind of the viceroy Eugene, offering to

acknowledge him as the sovereign of the kingdom of Italy if he would make common cause with them for the liberation of Europe: an alliance the Prince could not have entered into without turning his arms against France, and against his father. Eugene, it is said, replied, "that he was not master of himself; the sovereign power was not his; he was but a delegate, a deputy; he could not even listen to such proposals, much less accept them, without rendering his name infamous. Were he capable of acceding to such proposals, he would inevitably lose the esteem, and with it, the confidence of the allies." If this be true, it certainly was a noble reply; and if Eugene had persevered to the end in the same pure integrity, guided by honesty, not by interest, posterity would have no material reproach to cast upon his name.

But after the defeat at Leipzig, the situation of Napoleon in Germany becoming still more desperate, Eugene began to think of his own affairs. His proceedings, however, were irresolute, either from the habit of subserviency, or from deeper designs than those he avowed, or from

his attachment to France. He indicated a desire to promote the independence of Italy; and his most devoted adherents, averring that times were changed, advocated that independence, but in union with France, not in connection with Austria or England. "This was the will of Napoleon, should the fortunes of France be retrieved, a destiny worthy of Italy awaited her. Napoleon struck by misfortune, was of far other temperament than Napoleon the triumphant. Prosperity had made him a despotic sovereign; adversity made him willing to suffer liberty. The Italians were bound to seize the opportunity which fortune now offered, and assert their freedom under the temperate and potent protection of France."

The advocates of these ideas expatiated on what they termed "the odious rule of Austria—of Austria breathing vengeance, thirsting for absolute power. The lapse of time had identified the people and their interests with the existing government: this intimate union could not be dissolved—and this Austria would require, without infinite grief and irreparable losses. The Italian

character widely differed from the German, and closely assimilated to the French. Finally, the Italians, if made independent, could remain so without French troops; while the Austrian rule in the kingdom involved the maintenance of her soldiers. The Italians had to choose between being a separate state or a province of a foreign one. The magnificent palaces so recently erected; those brave soldiers so numerously embodied; magistracies so indissolubly united to the state; their customs so widely diffused; the name of Italy so long borne in the face of day,—all proclaimed their independence: their energies were national, not servile. Under its own domination should the kingdom of Italy exist; and no other than Italians should govern Italians. Eugene, though not Italian by birth, was so by election and by affection. He was prepared to execute whatever might depend on him, to prove to the people how dear to him was their freedom and independence, provided that thus the interests of France were in no wise prejudiced. He possessed the political experience of a sovereign, the military experience of a soldier; he had attained that

prime of manhood which combines maturity and youth; his frame possessing the vigour of the one, the activity of the other. The vexatious acts of his administration had been Napoleon's; the beneficent his own. The very fidelity of the Prince in abiding in adverse fortune by him who in prosperity had raised him to power, proved his worth."

These insinuations of Eugene's adherents produced small effect; for the party adverse to the existing government were not at any time to be gained over, and now less than ever when danger became imminent. The party approving it trusted little to French promises: they still saw occupying the first place in the favour of the Prince, saw influencing his most secret councils, saw arrogating to themselves the whole weight of his authority, those very men who had most humbly prostrated themselves in slavery before Napoleon; who had shuddered at the name of independence; who had chiefly advised and most zealously executed the hardiest resolutions and the most rigid orders of the Emperor and King. They knew that they had always

recommended severe measures against those who had rendered themselves obnoxious by the elevation of their sentiments, by their love of liberty, by the energy of their patriotism. The severity of the yoke had been proved, and this experience inspired the cause they espoused. Two individuals, especially, had incurred the hatred of the people of the kingdom of Italy. Count Prina, minister of finance, highly prized by Napoleon for the ingenuity and inexorable firmness he displayed in raising the taxes; and Count Mejean, private secretary to the Prince, and a man of bland and courteous manners, but who, being of the Napoleon school, believed that the art of good government consisted in guiding men by a bridle so rough that they must perforce obey. Such maxims were exceedingly detrimental to the interests of the viceroy. Some, however, believed that when the deadly weight of Napoleon's hand should be removed from the vital organs of the kingdom, these two despotic ministers would be removed also, and other counsellors employed, more inclined to moderation, more friendly to the liberty of Italy. So much, moreover,

had been done by the activity of the viceroy; that a well organized army was already assembled, partly French, collected from the garrisons, and the conscripts of French Italy, partly Italians from the kingdom itself; some amongst them veterans, the majority new levies. The sight of this army inspired the people with some feelings of security: if they could not hope to conquer, they hoped at least to negociate; they despaired not of being acknowledged a free state. The gathering tempests, meanwhile, approached at once from the Mediterranean, the Tyrol, and Illyria.

Eugene, from one day to another, becoming more eager in his hopes, more perplexed in his vacillations, aided by his accustomed advisers, unceasingly watched the progress of events. By his orders the minister of police wrote circulars to all the prefects, exhorting them dextrously to raise amongst the people the idea that the hour of independence had arrived; insinuating Eugene's desire to constitute himself its champion, and Napoleon's willingness to promote it. But subsequently, startled at his own daring,

and fearing that the re-action he was about to excite might turn to the prejudice of France, he gave orders to recall these letters. Thus, between commanding and countermanding, he effected nothing. He did not perceive that he who embarks in such enterprises, not only cannot regulate them by his own will, but ought not even to care whether his will be influential in squaring them or not. To found the freedom of Italy was a grand design, nor should any collateral objects have interfered with the unity of purpose necessary to affect one so vast.

If it was honourable, it was nevertheless inconsistent, to wish to retain fidelity to Napoleon and to France, when the end proposed, the liberation of Italy, demanded other cares. He who throws himself upon such extreme hazards must not pause to think on the wild results that may ensue. I hear it said that upright men can never acquiesce in such principles; I hear this, and I hold my peace: this only will I say, that if it be so, upright men ought not to embark in such enterprises, nor even wear the appearance of wishing to promote them; and this also can

I affirm, that Eugene, whether from integrity or from want of energy, indubitably lost the cause.

At the period of Napoleon's disasters in Germany, Joachim too had begun to perplex himself on the same subject. Various and uncertain were his projects; at first, though he loved not the viceroy, and envied his greatness, he made him a proposal to divide Italy between them, and render her independent by their union, preserving her from the Germans, without prejudicing the interests of France, with whom Italy would still be connected as an ally; and threatening too, in case of a refusal on the part of Eugene, to take such measures as he might find most conducive to his own safety.

The viceroy gave little heed to the propositions of the King of Naples, whether distrusting him from ancient rivalry, or desiring to act for himself, or fearing to injure Napoleon and France. Joachim, losing all hope of Eugene's co-operation, resolved even so far back as when he led the army into the March of Ancona, to try what he could accomplish in the kingdom

of Italy by secret machinations. From his vaunts and the swelling boasts of his Neapolitan soldiers, it seemed that he was about to achieve wonders.

General Pino, an old friend of Lahoz, a soldier of tried valour, had lost his favour at court, as well because he was known to be a patriot, as because he vied in fame and power with Fontanelli, the minister of war. After the first battles in Illyria and Friuli, which we shall relate in the following chapter, he had retired to the privacy of domestic life, taking no other part in public affairs than a simple inquiry as to their progress. Deeming him a fitting instrument, the King of Naples sounded him on the subject of independence, and promised the aid of his Neapolitans to the enterprise; and many entered into the plot with him. The leaders, despairing of the Viceroy, as being too French, adopted the party of Joachim, who, as more bold and less prudent, was capable of making some noisy and imposing flutter of unfurled ensigns. The conspirators managed to have Pino sent as military governor to Bologna, a place

well situated for co-operation with the Neapolitans, who, as they already occupied the Marches, were in its vicinity.

Joachim sent one Pignatelli, to confer with Pino at Bologna, in order to persuade him to use his name and authority, which was great amongst the soldiers, to gain partisans, who were openly to discover themselves, when the King set forward to attack Upper Italy. These intrigues had not been so covertly conducted that Fontanelli, who already distrusted the governor of Bologna, had not some suspicion of them, and therefore he removed Pino, by which means Joachim was frustrated in his hopes of causing a rising in the kingdom of Italy, in despite of the viceroy. Pino went to Verona, where the Prince, when driven from the frontiers by the Austrian arms, had established his head quarters: he was coldly received by Eugene, and being even interrogated on suspicion by Luini, the minister of police, he went thence to Milan, much against his inclination, and openly avowed the utmost dissatisfaction. There he lived in privacy, even in obscurity, until

the commotion broke out that wrought so sad an end to a reign more auspiciously commenced. Joachim threw himself into the arms of Austria.

Powerful armaments now succeeded to impotent machinations. The Emperor Francis, who had engaged in the war with alacrity, sent a fine body of about seventy thousand strong to the frontiers, so as to begirt the kingdom of Italy from Carlsbad in Croatia to the Tyrol: these troops were commanded by General Hiller, a man of great experience, old alike in years and service. Many generals of note were under his command; among them the most renowned were Bellegarde and Frimont, officers who had seen much service in Italy. Hiller published a military manifesto, in which, after describing the power and the victories of the allies, he exhorted the Italians to rise against the common tyrant for the general liberation of Europe, so long shaken by commotions, and to co-operate with the powerful armies that from every country were hastening to their aid.

Such was the storm that overhung Italy on the north and east; nor towards the west were

its confines secure; for the allies, reckoning much on a general rising of the people, had agreed that whilst the Austrians should assault it on their side, the English with their own troops, and whatever others they could any where collect—chiefly Italians enrolled in Malta and Sicily, or at least with some Austrian bands, should infest the two shores of the Adriatic, as well on the coast of Dalmatia and Istria, as on that of Italy. They knew that, particularly in Dalmatia and Illyria, great dislike to the domination of Napoleon existed; in the former on account of the cruelties committed by some general there, and of the cessation of their commerce; in the latter from its ancient attachment to the house of Austria, and from the arrogance of Junot, the governor, who conducted himself like a madman, long ere he was confessedly declared insane. They also intended to assail the Italian shores, entering at the mouths of the Po, so as to create a diversion in favour of the principal force, which was descending by the Rhetian, Julian, and Norican Alps. They hoped, though they saw him irresolute and

wavering, that Joachim of Naples would become their ally, as well because the utter ruin of Napoleon was fast approaching, as because they persuaded themselves that he would esteem it of immense importance to induce the legitimate governments to treat with him, to recognize his title, to admit him to their alliance. The forces of the King of Naples were of great moment to Austria, because they took the kingdom of Italy in the flank and rear, and where it was least defended; for amongst future contingencies, nobody, and least of all Napoleon, with all his foresight, could possibly have imagined a case in which Joachim of Naples would be one day seen to array himself in arms against the Italian kingdom of Napoleon, of France.

Nor were the coasts of the Mediterranean to remain undisturbed: there the English, on having ascertained the intentions of Joachim, proposed to make a descent with their multiform and strangely assembled recruits of every different country upon Tuscany, a province that they believed to be, not without reason, averse to the

new government, and anxious to return to its ancient condition. With these troops came Lord William Bentinck and General Wilson, with their proclamations of liberty and independence: Bentinck aimed at liberty, but hung fire, being by nature rather arbitrary; and Wilson, who loved liberty, aimed wide of the mark, being by nature somewhat of a democrat. They displayed I know not what banners, with *Independence of Italy* inscribed on them, and the device of two hands grasping each other in sign of amity and alliance. Thus on every side howled the gathering tempest over the Italian kingdom and the entire peninsula. The old recollections of Austria, the new summons to liberty, the alluring semblance of national independence, the auguries of peace, concord, and happiness, the promises of remitted taxes, and of the abolition of conscript levies, were all employed to rouse the Italians; but these delusions had been so often practised in Italy that the people gave no credence either to the one party or to the other.

The Viceroy too was furnishing his arms: his

army consisted of about sixty thousand soldiers; among whom were the Italian veterans who had returned from Spain, the soldiers newly embodied, and the royal Italian guard, a brave and handsome band; one third of the whole were natives of the kingdom. Even the French troops, whether gathered out of the garrisons, or summoned from Spain, hastened with rapid steps to meet the impending peril. Eugene divided them into three bodies: the first, under Grenier, had its station on the banks of the Tagliamento and of the Isonzo, fields which had been so often the seat of war, and so often gloriously won by the French; the second, led by Verdier, was placed at Vicenza, Castelfranco, Bassano, and Feltre; the third, which was the Italian, took up a position at Verona and Padua, and was commanded by Pino, prior to his appointment of governor of Bologna. Of this, one division, under Generals Lecchi and Bellotti, was sent to occupy Illyria; the cavalry were stationed at Treviso. In the meantime, to watch the occurrences in the Tyrol, a district that gave great uneasiness, a body of reserve was cantoned at

Montechiaro; and when afterwards the danger grew more imminent, it was sent under General Giflenga to combat in the Tyrol the Austrian force headed by General Fenner. The troops from Dalmatia, which were, from their small numerical amount, rather defensive than offensive, seconded this force; they were chiefly Italians, and collected from the garrisons of Zara, Ragusa, and Cattaro. And now, the danger becoming every moment more pressing, the Viceroy resolved to rush forwards, and fix his head quarters at Adelsberg, a place not far distant from the right bank of the Save, on the road by Carlsbad to Croatia, and by Lubiana to Carniola. At the same time, extending his force on the left, he sent a strong squadron to keep the passes of Villach and Tarvisio, having learnt that Hiller, collecting a very considerable force at Clagenfurth, threatened to advance at once to force those strong passes, and to reach, by ascending the banks of the Drave, the upper regions of the much coveted Tyrol.

This was the last act of that tragedy of which unhappy Italy had been the scene for a period

of twenty years, excepting only some few brief intervals, which, if not defiled by bloodshed, had, at best, been disquieted by rancour, by threats, by ambition. The victim of each and every party, all held out to her promises of bliss; and to aggravate her ills, both parties upbraided her for not rising in their behalf; as if she were bound to requite afflictions with affection. Now at last arrived the crisis which was to decide, whether the sovereignty of Italy should return to Austria, or remain with France; whether the ancient dynasties or the new governments should prevail; whether the rigorous sway of Napoleon should or should not be mitigated; whether Austria should return to Milan, as mild as in former times, or roused to fury by her wrongs; whether France or Austria should employ the sweets of peace to soothe the minds of the people to forgetfulness of the rapine and violence of war; whether twenty years of innovation were to become the model of other succeeding years, or were to immerse and lose themselves, leaving no other trace behind, than on the page of history, in the re-established

course of former periods; whether the natives of Italy were to learn the French or the German tongues; finally, whether all the dulcet words which were lavished on the Italians were intended to promote their interests, or the schemes of the masters of the earth. For it has ever been the stratagem of those who seek to appropriate to themselves the rights of others, and more in our own than in any former age, to pamper the people for a time with delusive hopes and flatteries, in order, afterwards, to reduce them to servitude.

CHAPTER IX.

The Austrians, under Hiller, invest the kingdom of Italy with a strong force.—Dalmatia and Croatia rise against the French.—Eugene retires.—Battle of Bassano.—Eugene on the Adige.—The Italian generals and soldiers dissatisfied with him.—Nugent makes a stir at the mouths of the Po with the Germans.—Joachim declares against Napoleon, and makes war against the kingdom of Italy.—Battle of the Mincio, between Eugene and Bellegarde.—Bentinck disembarks at Leghorn; talks of the independence of Italy; takes Genoa, and promises the observance of the integrity of the Genoese state.—Tidings received of Napoleon's fatal disasters; of the occupation of Paris by the allies; of his retreat to Fontainebleau with the fragments of his troops; of his abdication; of his having accepted the Island of Elba as his final abode.—Eugene treats with Bellegarde, and retires to Bavaria.—State of opinion in Milan.—Unanimous as to national independence; but some desire Eugene, and some an Austrian prince as king.—Debate in the senate on the subject.—Popular tumult.—The senate dissolved.—The electoral colleges convened.—They create a regency, and send deputies to Paris, to the Emperor Francis, to demand

independence and an Austrian prince.—The result of the mission.—Genoa given to the King of Sardinia.—Conclusion of the work.

THE position of the Austrians, which enabled them to form a large circuit round the whole front of the Italian army, gave them a great advantage, and one peculiarly adapted to the emergencies of the times, and to their own circumspect character.

The events of the late campaign in Germany, and the recent accession of Bavaria to the confederacy against Napoleon, rendered their right wing secure. On this point they also derived great strength from the affection of the Tyrolese, who were eager to rise against their new sovereign; indeed, so much so, that Austria herself, out of respect for her recent alliance, was obliged to restrain their ardour lest they should make some ill-timed movement. But though restrained, the devotion of this people rendered their territory a secure quarter for the Austrian army, and gave some uneasiness to the Viceroy, as he was liable

to their attacks on the left and in the rear. Nor was the position of the Austrians on the left less advantageous; for the Croatians and Dalmatians being inimical both to the French and their Italian confederates, were disposed to rise against their present rulers. These were warlike tribes, and therefore of no small importance, especially in a war to which the people as well as the soldiery were parties. Hiller's plan of operations was to push continually forward the force at the extremity of his wings, and, bringing up the main body in the centre more slowly and cautiously, to keep the Viceroy in constant apprehension of being surrounded and taken in the rear. This mode of conducting the campaign necessarily caused the fortunes of the Austrians to prevail; as, advancing with caution in the centre, they did not afford the enemy any opportunity of forcing them to a pitched battle, which was the only hope that remained to him of redeeming himself from the perilous pass to which events had hurried him. In order to extricate himself from this situation, the French commander had more need of prudence than of daring; and

should rather have displayed that skill, which, harassing the enemy, would have cut him off from the open country, and have impeded his progress amidst the defiles of the mountains, without hazarding an engagement, than the courage which defied him to the combat. In fine, the object should have been to keep the army entire in whatever position it might take up, because in that, and not in the extent of territory occupied, lay the safety, or if not the safety, at least the means of procuring honourable conditions for the kingdom. But the Viceroy was young; was the son of Napoleon; was himself tainted with the vice of the times, that is, with a desire of purchasing fame by sanguinary combats; despising, therefore, more salutary counsels, he preferred tempting fortune; and thus uselessly wasted his troops in affairs of little importance, which slightly, if at all, affected the final aspect of the war; when, on the contrary, he should have avoided skirmishing, should have retreated in undiminished force on more secure positions, and in undiminished force have abided the issue of events until the

fates should have disposed of Napoleon in Germany and France. The blood of the French and the Italians slain in the distant extremities of Croatia and Carniola, cries out against Eugene, accusing him of ambition, of unskilfulness, or of imprudence.

Towards the end of August, the Dalmatians rose against their garrisons, the Croatians against the Italian troops; Zara, Ragusa, and Cattaro, held by feeble garrisons, easily yielded to the tumultuous crowds who surrounded their walls; and a band of Croats, strengthened by some battalions of Austrians, rushed against Carlsbad, and took it without difficulty. The Austrians and the Croats, urging on, possessed themselves of St. Veit, General Janin, unable to make any resistance, having retired from that station. Those Croatians who had been enrolled under the French ensigns, deserting their captains, returned to the ancient standard of Austria. Whilst thus successful in the vicinity of the Adriatic, the Austrians sent a large force under Fenner towards the Tyrol, by the course of the Upper Drave. From Brissio they descended

by the Adige, intending to make an incursion on the Veronese and Brescian territories. The centre, at the same time, came to action. Crinburg was taken and retaken on both sides with great loss. In these affairs, Pino displayed much skill and courage, and Bellotti proved himself a brave soldier but an unskilful general. The former succeeded at Lubiana, the latter failed at Stein. A desperate encounter took place at Villach, where the Austrians tried to force their way to the pass of Tarvisio, in order to descend by the course of the Fella into the heart of Friuli. The French had marched to oppose the attempt, and after a furious combat, in which the city was many times lost and won, and finally set on fire by the Germans, the French remained victors. The Viceroy, with great generosity, hastened to succour the burning town. The Austrians, in conformity to their general plan, extended their wings; Trieste, frequently taken and retaken, fell into their hands, and the whole extent of Istria submitted to their arms. On the north, precipitating themselves from the Tyrolese Alps, they threat-

ened to bear down against Belluno; and in the rear the clang of their arms disturbed the neighbourhood of Trent. Knowing their advantage, and profiting by it, they had passed the Save at Crinburg and Ramansdorf, where they made demonstrations of an intended movement through Tolmino into the upper part of Friuli: against Villaco also they prepared a grand attack.

The Viceroy was no longer able to resist, and had he persisted in occupying the banks of the Drave, and the Save, his retreat would, probably, have been cut off. The enemy were in greater force than he, and were favoured also by the people. He halted for a few days at Isonzo, fighting always bravely, but always ineffectually. In this manner Illyria, torn by the force of Napoleon's arms from the ancient stem of Austria, was again brought back by the arms of the Emperor Francis to its accustomed obedience. The manners and habits of these people in no respect accorded with the French, and in a trifling degree only with the Italians, in addition to which Napoleon had

retained the laws of the feudal system, giving the fiefs to his soldiers and most confidential civil officers; who, ancient republicans as they were, enjoyed these feudatory rights so much that they harshly extorted them without abating a single sous.

The borders of the Piave could no longer be commanded by the French. The Austrians had already descended from Bassano in great force under General Eckard, and pressing on the rear, threatened the Viceroy with utter defeat if he did not retire. The imprudence of the Prince in not having made an earlier retreat was now evident, because, to accomplish it at this period, he was obliged to give battle. The engagement was severe, and lasted for two days, the 31st of October and the 1st of November. In this affair, the valour of Grenier was conspicuous. The fortunes of France and Italy prevailed, and the conquerors entered the ensanguined city, where they passed the night. The Germans lost about 1000 men; Eugene also suffered some loss, for the enemy had fought bravely. The Viceroy was now able

to draw back with less difficulty to the Adige: the army retired in two divisions, one by Padua, another by Vicenza, to Verona and Legnago. In this retreat, important in itself, and which presaged yet more important events, for already the half of the kingdom of Italy was occupied by the Austrians, the French and Italian soldiers, but more especially the former, behaved in the most laudable manner, abstaining from rapine and outrage; and their conduct is the more to be commended, because the greater part believed that they should never more return to the country they were quitting. Nor must it be concealed that the Germans, at this very time, if we except the main bodies, for whom provisions were prepared, lived by rapine, laying waste, now here, now there, as the necessities of war or the desire of pillage prompted, the fertile fields of Italy, whose fruits so often destroyed, were so often produced and re-produced only to be trodden to the earth by the foot of the spoiler. Since her beauty and her fertility excite the cupidity of every foreign horde, nothing remains to her people but to

implore Heaven to render the country a savage wild. A blasted desert might give that security which innocence is unable to bestow.

On the Veronese banks of the Adige a spirit of disaffection towards the Viceroy began to display itself amongst the Italian troops; yet the fault in this case was rather his than theirs. Whether it was that he foresaw, from the gathering clouds that darkened the air, that it would be more to his advantage to show himself French than Italian, or that he gave too easy credence to some of his greatest favourites and most intimate counsellors, who, wished to exalt their own reputation at the expence of that of the Italians, Eugene had, even as far back as when in Prussia, after the Russian disasters, let fall certain slighting expressions with regard to the Italian generals: and not confining the expression of his contempt to simple words only, he had manifested it by actions. They esteemed themselves deeply injured by this conduct, not being accustomed to tolerate injuries or indignities; and Pino felt this even more than the rest, as being of

greater reputation. By degrees they communicated their own dissatisfaction to the soldiery: hence arose in the camp sinister murmurs and even overt acts against the Prince. Misfortune still more irritated these proud and martial spirits: they accused Eugene of the blood uselessly shed, and of the contaminated honour of the Italian arms. Already the soldiers called him by the hated name of foreigner, and this ill-omened term of reproach circulated from mouth to mouth, whilst they sustained implacable resentment against his counsellors.

In the mean time, Eugene was not the less possessed by the desire of acquiring military reputation by useless battles—bartering the life of man for fame. He poured into the Tyrol, performed gallant actions, which brought no result; freed Brescia from the enemy, but in vain; broke them in a great and well-fought battle at Caldiero, and was, nevertheless, ere long forced to return to the point whence he had set out. The enemy, who had been recently driven back beyond the Alpone, shortly returned to the attack of St. Michele, in the Veronese.

Scarcely could the army of Italy keep its front on the Adige, a large river defended below by the fortress of Legnago, and above by the castle of Terona, so much did the enemy exceed in number. From all this it is evident, that the Viceroy ought not to have attacked the enemy, but should have defended himself; ought not to have left stations of security, but should have ensconced himself within them; ought not to have waged an offensive war, but should have temporized and have awaited the progress of events. Ruin fell from every side on Italy. A second storm hung over the Po; not now to decide the sovereignty of Venice, or of Alfonso, but to assert that of France or of Austria: nor was this storm the last we have to speak of, although the end of the tragedy draws near. The Austrian general, Nugent, had fought bravely in Croatia and in Istria against the Italian troops which occupied that part of the kingdom; but now every thing was secure for him in that quarter, as well from the retreat of Eugene, as because the fortresses of Lubiana and Trieste had yielded to the Austrian arms.

The city of Venice alone, of all the ancient Austrian or Venetian territory, was now left in the hands of the Viceroy. Therefore, Nugent, taking instructions from Bellegarde, who had superseded Hiller as Austrian generalissimo in Italy, embarked at Trieste, and landed at Goro with a large squadron composed of English, Istriots, Croats, and Milan refugees. Impatient of delay, being aware that time is the enemy of daring enterprize, he pushed hastily on and took Ferrara, abandoned by the feeble garrison that had occupied it. He scoured the country with his light troops, endeavouring to excite the people to rise. The important point in view was to effect a junction with the Austrian brigades that had marched along with the main body, and were now stationed at Padua. In this purpose, passing the Po with a part of his troops, and taking up his quarters at Crespina, Nugent approached the Adige. On the other side, Bellegarde, in order to co-operate with their movements, had sent a corps of 3000 men to Rovigo under General Marshall.

When the Viceroy received intelligence of

Nugent's invasion, he instantly despatched a corps under General Decouchy to Trecenta, in order to impede the junction of the enemy's divisions. Pino, at the same time, who commanded at Bologna, assembled as many troops as he could, and hastily advanced to Ferrara; he restored Ferrara, but, from the accidents which succeeded, without thereby gaining any advantage. Decouchy had gallantly driven Marshall back from Rovigo, with no small loss, and obliged him to retire to the bridge of Bovara, in the Paduan territory; but the Austrians continually brought up fresh brigades, in order to effect a junction with Nugent, who all this time held Crespino. The Viceroy, therefore, sent a reinforcement under General Marcognet towards the Lower Adige, that he might co-operate with Decouchy. The Germans sallied from Bovara; Decouchy, and Marcognet, attacked them; and an obstinate struggle took place, in which the French were successful on the right, unsuccessful on the left. The Germans retired to their secure covert of Bovara; but, profiting by the shelter of night, and the negligent guard kept up by the French,

they broke them by an unexpected attack, and obliged them to retire, first to Lendinara, then to Trecenta, and finally to Castagnaro; they regained Rovigo, by which every impediment was now removed that opposed the union of Nugent and Marshall. Rendered secure by their junction, Nugent marched to Ravenna, and from Ravenna to Forli. To raise the people he employed force, he employed persuasion: "sufficiently have you been oppressed," said his manifesto to the Italians; "too long has an insupportable yoke been imposed on you; now a happy destiny awaits you. Take arms in your hands, and reinstate your country; you are now to become an independent nation." He then raised a great cry of promises, declaring that the conscription should no longer be levied, and that the consuming taxes should be abolished. In the mean time, his troops cruelly pillaged the territories of Ferrara and Bologna—an inauspicious commencement of the independence which he promised.

I have now a new instance of treachery, a third deluge to speak of; but this deception was

practised, this injury was committed, by one of the Napoleon family. Joachim of Naples had long found himself much perplexed; and as the news from Germany, from France, or from the kingdom of Italy was favourable or unfavourable, he inclined to this side or that, resolving on this or that measure: much was he influenced by the desire of preserving his throne, and not less by fear of Napoleon; acting, therefore, with his characteristic inconsistency, he had negociated, as we have already related, now with Austria, now with Bentinck, now with Eugene, sometimes with all three at the same moment, not perceiving that he was equally well understood by all. In the mean time, certain of Austria, certain of England, but not certain of himself, he proceeded towards upper Italy: already had he occupied Rome, had he occupied the Marches, but had not yet declared his intentions. He feigned good will to the cause of the Italian kingdom: whilst professing friendship, he demanded the treasures of that kingdom against which he was preparing to march—and they were freely dispensed to him;

he demanded provisions, clothing, and arms, from that same kingdom—and they were granted to him; he was suffered to pass amicably at Ancona and at Rome by the French garrisons, to whom he put forth cheering and friendly expressions respecting France and Napoleon. I know not of what he could be thinking; but certainly his dissimulation was great, and still more culpable than even the end he proposed. In the end, seeing the retreat of the Viceroy, hearing of the approach of the allies in great force on the Rhine to invade France, and expecting that Bentinck was about to fall on Tuscany; every doubt being at last removed, he resolved to discover himself, and to do what the world could never have anticipated, and which more than any other circumstance perturbed Napoleon. He concluded his bargain with Austria by a treaty which stipulated that the Emperor Francis should, as long as the war lasted, maintain in Italy at least fifty thousand soldiers, and himself not fewer than twenty thousand; mutually promising and engaging to act in accordance with each other, and to increase their

military quota in this same ratio as necessity might arise. Francis guaranteed to Joachim and his heirs the possession of his actual dominions in Italy, and promised to use his mediation with the allies to confirm him in the same.

Bellegarde publicly announced to the Italians the accession of Joachim to the confederacy, admonishing them of the last hopes of the Napoleonists. Joachim, discovering himself an enemy in that country which he had entered, and where he had been received, as a friend, forced General Barbou, who held the fortress of Ancona in the name of France, and Miollis, who commanded the castle of St. Angelo, to surrender. The whole Roman state submitted to the Neapolitans, who —and their King not less than they, speaking now of the Pope, and now of the independence of Italy, knew not what they said: wherever they passed they pillaged whatever fell in their way! a new parturition of misery to the unfortunate inhabitants of Ferrara and Bologna. The vaunts that they made were immoderate, and their braggart speeches insufferable.

The first to break forth was the King himself,

by telling his soldiers, that as long as he could believe that the Emperor Napoleon fought for the peace and prosperity of France, he had supported him; but now all had been cleared up to his apprehension, and he was convinced that Napoleon desired nothing but war: he should therefore betray the interests of his native country, of his states, of his army, if he did not immediately separate his forces from Napoleon, and unite them to those of the magnanimous princes who were intent on restoring to thrones, dignity—to nations, independence. "Two opposing banners," he said, "were unfurled in Europe; on the one should be inscribed, '*Religion, morals, justice, moderation, laws, peace, felicity*;' on the other, '*Persecution, fraud, violence, tyranny, war, domestic strife.*' Let all men make their election between them." Such was the language of *Joachim Napoleon!* Carascosa, the Neapolitan general, yet more emphatically addressed the Italians at Modena, promising them independence in the name of Joachim, who had already covenanted to assist Austria in subjugating the kingdom of Italy.

The preponderating force of Bellegarde, the progress of Nugent on the right bank of the Po, the adherence of the King of Naples to the league, and the numerous bodies of his troops in the Modenese, rendered it impossible for the Viceroy longer to keep his station on the Adige; he therefore retired to take up a more secure position on the Mincio.

On the 8th of February he took the field in noble order to give battle to Bellegarde. The main body, in which the royal guard was conspicuous, issuing from Mantua, marched towards Valeggio; the cavalry, crossing the river at Goita, took the direction of Roverbella; and, to infest the enemy on the rear, General Zucchi, with the light troops, moved towards the island of Scala. To cut off Bellegarde from the upper region, the Viceroy commanded Verdier to join Palombini, to cross the Mincio, at Mozambano, and to attack the enemy at Valeggio: all crossed the river, and hastened to their allotted positions; but, by an unexpected accident, fortune converted a well arranged plan into an irregular movement. At the very moment when Eugene resolved to

attack Bellegarde, on the left bank of the Mincio; Bellegarde had equally resolved to seek Eugene on the right: owing to this unexpected occurrence, instead of finding the whole of the enemy's force at Roverbella, the Viceroy fell in with the rear-guard only, so that the French vanguard engaged the German rear-guard. By degrees, one battalion after another came into action on both sides: they fought desperately; the French and Italians had the advantage at first, but were well nigh undone by the breaking of their cavalry; however, they rallied again, and the battle became equal. The result was, that Bellegarde was constrained to retire to the left of the Mincio, but entire, and in close order, which obliged the Viceroy also to withdraw his whole force to the right bank of that river.

Eugene now perceived that it was no longer in his power to delay the defence of the country beyond the Po, which, from the invasion of the Neapolitans, every hour became more difficult. He had already provided for the defence of Piacenza, by some additional fortifications, and

had garrisoned it with fresh levies, and a few bands of veterans under Gratien and Severoli; the danger increasing, he sent an additional reinforcement, under Grenier, in whose skill the chief hope of the war lay in their last moments. Nugent, with his Germans, Istriots, and Italians, formed the van-guard of the enemy; Joachim, and his Neapolitans, the rear-guard. Grenier, on his first arrival, by a vigorous attack drove back Nugent, and forced him to return, at a quicker rate than the ordinary marching pace, to the Taro. Here he was joined by the Neapolitans, and made a show of defence; but so bold and so skilful was Grenier, that, crossing the river in these places, he again forced the enemy to retreat as far as the Enza. Nugent, however, hoping to stop the progress of Grenier, shut himself up in Parma, with three thousand men. Attacking the city on every side, the French entered it by storm, and the German, with a small part of his force, hastily evacuated it. In this encounter they fought desperately with fire and sword, to the great terror of the citizens. The

King of Naples returning in greater force, finally carried the pass of the Taro, and approached within two miles of Piacenza: here he was arrested, not by the strength of the enemy, but by circumstances of greater fame and importance.

Pellew and Bentinck appeared before Leghorn: they brought several large ships of war, and a force of 6000 soldiers, Italians, Sicilians, and English. The governor capitulated, and the English entered the town on the 8th of March. They clanked their arms, they harangued, they published manifestoes, they unfurled the banners of Italian independence. Bentinck showed great ardour on this occasion, and Wilson seconded him.

Bentinck thus addressed the Italians in an official proclamation :—"Rise! Italians rise!—Behold us here to aid you.—Behold us here in order to remove from your necks the iron yoke of Bonaparte. Portugal, Spain, Sicily, Holland, will declare to you the greatness of England's generosity, the purity of her disinterested zeal. Spain has been freed by her own valour, and by our aid; both have united in completing a

work the noblest amongst the noble. The French being driven forth from her happy fields, liberty and independence have there fixed their seat. Under the shadow of England has Sicily been screened from the common misfortunes: through the benevolence of a virtuous prince she has passed from servitude to liberty, and now demonstrates the glory and felicity which a free constitution confers. Holland also struggles for freedom. Will Italy alone remain content in bondage? Will Italians alone direct their ensanguined swords against each other, to subject their country to the will of a tyrant? To you, soldiers of Italy, we especially address our words,—to you, in whose hands is placed the completion of a generous enterprize. We ask you not to come over to us: our voices exhort you only to assert your rights, to re-establish your liberties. We will applaud you afar off; we will join you when summoned; and if you add your force to ours, Italy may, perhaps, be restored to her ancient destiny, and perhaps the same fame may be won by her which has been won by Spain." Thus did the English

commander seek to allure the Italians. The banners, with the clasped hands, were displayed, as he hoped by such protestations, and such demonstrations of amity, to excite the people.

Bentinck, being of a courageous and enterprizing spirit, did not rest content with words only. He learned at Leghorn, that the garrison of Genoa consisted but of 2000 men: the opportunity was inviting; for the position of Genoa is of the utmost importance, as well from the extent and the security of the port, as for the facility the territory affords to the possessor of descending to the plains of Piedmont and Lombardy: besides, it abounded in arms and naval stores. Therefore Bentinck prepared to attack the city: his intention was to send the infantry by the different roads of the Riviera, the ammunition in small vessels, the artillery and heavy baggage in large ships. Arrived at Sestri in the Levante, he then heard that fresh succours had been sent to Genoa, so that the garrison now amounted to 6000 men, a number which, although insufficient to defend the great extent of the fortifications, was yet suffi-

cient to render the siege a difficult enterprize. Fresia commanded this force. To oppose Bentinck he extended his line from forts Richelieu and Tecla, his central division occupying the village of San Martino, and there, through a space intersected with gardens and villas, his right wing descended to the sea shore. The enemy had no hope of taking the citadel by a lengthened siege with the small force they brought against it: the capture of Genoa, however, was of vast importance in the midst of the general commotion, in order to keep alive the interest excited. It was, therefore, necessary for Bentinck to take it by a vigorous assault. For this purpose he arranged his plan, and his forces showed great order and incredible promptitude in executing his commands. He sent the Italians, under Colonel Ciravegua, an experienced and gallant soldier, who also unfurled the banner of independence, to attack a mountain summit, in front of and commanding fort Tecla; he sent another party of Italians against fort Richelieu; whilst a Colonel Travers, descending from Monte Fascie with the

Greeks and Calabrese, endeavoured to gain the height which overlooks that fort. These were the dispositions made on the right on the upper part: whilst beneath, and nearer to the sea, the English infantry, under Generals Montresor and Macfarlane, marched to attack the enemy, and to clear away the obstacles the country presented. Every thing succeeded in this plan: Ceravigna, on the point at the extreme right, fighting with singular courage, drove the enemy from the height, and took three mountain batteries. This being perceived by the garrison of Tecla, they deserted that station, leaving it to the enemy. The eminence also which commanded fort Richelieu was taken by the Greeks and Calabrese, and the Italians already approached the fortress. The garrison, unwilling to stand the ultimate struggle, surrendered conditionally. On the left the confederates met with a more strenuous opposition, as well from the nature of the ground, better calculated for defence, as from the valour of the defenders; the English, however, were gaining ground. In the end, the garrison, seeing that, by the loss of forts Tecla

and Richelieu, they ran the risk of being beaten in the rear, resolved to retreat within the walls, leaving the exterior defences in the power of the confederates. Bentinck had already planted his batteries against the city, when Sir Edward Pellew appeared before Genoa with his whole fleet, and drew up in front of Nervi. The light ordnance of Bentinck was now aided by heavy artillery, and Pellew prepared to bombard the town, so that every thing in the approaching attack promised a prosperous issue to the assailants. A convention was entered into. Fresia surrendered on the 18th of April.

Bentinck, having acquired possession of Genoa, heaped one allurement on another, and made the Genoese entertain the hope of being constituted an independent state: perhaps he thought that the allied powers would more willingly incline to this measure, if he both gave hopes of it in words and actually gave it a commencement by facts, than if he had acted the part of severity, and had spoken only of conquest. He therefore organized a preparative government: this was arranged according to the ordinances

of the constitution of ninety-seven, to which were added those modifications which opinion, utility, and the spirit of the constitution of 1576 demanded. The government was divided between two colleges, as in the ancient form, which were to last till the 1st of January, 1815, at which time the colleges and council were to be re-elected according to the constitutional laws. These were the acts of the English commander: he subsequently proclaimed his motives, declaring that as the English soldiers under his command had driven the French from the Genoese territory, it was necessary for him to provide for the peace and the good government of the state; considering, moreover, that as the universal desire of the Genoese people seemed to be to return to that ancient form to which for so great a length of time they had been indebted for their liberty, their prosperity, and their independence; and considering further, that the allied sovereigns directed their power and their councils to the reinstating of every ancient right and privilege, he gave authority to enact and carry into execution whatever the Genoese people

desired in conformity to the declared principles of the confederates. To bring these declarations into action, he called to the government Girolamo Serra as president, and with him Francisco Antonio Daguino, Ippolito Durazzo, Carlo Pico, Paolo Girolamo Pallavicini, Agostino Fieschi, Giuseppe Negrotto, Giovanni Quartara, Dominico Demarini, Luca Solari, Andrea Deferrari, Agostino Pareto, and Grimaldo Oldoini.

From all this it may be decided whether the Genoese were not entitled to cherish the hope of preserving the honoured name, and the ancient form and being, of their country. If any man had, from the words of Bentinck, deduced this corollary, that Genoa was shortly to be made over to the King of Sardinia, he would certainly have been rather esteemed one who had been utterly bereaved of reason than a false logician. But Castlereagh pleaded I know not what right of conquest, and the advantage of the league—pretexts which were precisely those of Napoleon's senatus-consulta. It was well to put down Napoleon—it would have been better still not to have imitated him.

Nearly the whole of Italy was now withdrawn from the empire of Napoleon: the sole remaining part was that bounded by the Po, the Mincio, and the Alps. But every thing was now to be decided for him rather on the banks of the Seine than of the Po. First, sinister rumours respecting Napoleon were spread abroad, and then the certain news arrived that the confederates, leading with them the whole force of Europe, had entered Paris triumphantly—a compensation given by the ruler of heaven to the rulers of the earth for the conquest of Turin, Venice, Berlin, and Moscow. It was also bruited forth in every quarter, that Napoleon was wandering about with the relics of his army in the open country. Every hour fame heaped up one stupendous fact on another; nor ever had so great a mass of armed men agitated the world from the time that Scipio conquered Hannibal; Belisarius, Totila; Charles Martel, the Saracens; Sobieski, the Turks. Shortly after intelligence was received of the restoration of the Bourbons in France; that Napoleon, constrained at Fontainebleau to resign his empire,

had bidden a last farewell to his veteran soldiers, and accepted, as a final retreat, the humble rock of Elba. To relate facts of this nature to our contemporaries would be superfluous, for the fulness of their fame yet freshly resounds on the ear; to recount them worthily to posterity would be a task above all eloquence; nor will I attempt it, knowing too well my humble style and moderate capacity. This only will I say, that more was effected in arms than could have been hoped; that more was promised in words than was executed in deeds; that prosperity consigned to oblivion the protestations of fear; that ancient predilections prevailed over the necessities of modern times. Europe was, however, liberated from the thraldom of one sole will, and from a military domination. Whoever will look back to the commencement of this narrative, and will revolve in his mind all the circumstances that have been related, will feel mingled wonder, terror, pity, grief, and pleasure. We have seen the human race slaughtered, opinions distorted, society convulsed, force preponderating, justice insulted, innocence con-

demned. We have seen the wicked flattered, the worthy persecuted, licentiousness under the name of liberty, barbarity under the name of humanity, policy under the name of religion: and with all these, eminent, though rare instances of the virtues of civil life, laudable, but continued examples of probity, of valour—yet of valour supporting despotism: Europe, in fine, became a reproach and a disgrace to herself. Whether she may still return to sanity cannot be known; for the taint of Napoleon's steps yet remains. Ambition is all alive in those who rule—is all alive in those who obey: whether, therefore, it be possible to unite liberty to monarchy is doubtful. Yet from this lamentable recital, as from the records of antiquity, this useful truth at least may be deduced, that whoever, like Buonaparte, from being the subject makes himself the master of his country only to reduce her to slavery, will be slain by the sword, or prostrated by force.

When the news of the capitulation of Paris and the abdication of Napoleon reached the Viceroy, he determined to treat for the security of the French troops; for it was no longer

expedient, as the Bourbons were restored to France, that the French should combat the confederates, who were in alliance with them. Besides, the Viceroy desired to facilitate affairs to the Bourbons and the allied powers, in order to promote his own interests, and to induce the confederates to use their victory less harshly towards himself. Issuing, therefore, from Mantua, he held a conference with Bellegarde, each being accompanied by a few troops only. They agreed that hostilities should be suspended for eight days; that in the mean time the French troops, under the command of the Viceroy, should pass the Alps and return to the ancient kingdom of France; that the fortresses of Osopo, Palmanova, Legnago, and the city of Venice, should be given up to the Austrians; that the Italian army should still occupy that part of the kingdom which they yet possessed; and that delegates from the kingdom should be permitted to seek the allies, and treat for peace; and if unsuccessful, hostilities were not to recommence before the expiration of fifteen days from the declaration of their final decision. This convention, concluded

at Schiarino-Rizzino on the 16th of April, put an end to the kingdom of Italy; for when the French troops were separated from the Italian, there was such a disproportion between them and the German army, that the article which covenanted for a delay of fifteen days before the re-commencement of hostilities, was rather framed in derision than for security.

The moment had arrived when ancient comrades were to interchange a last farewell. The soldiers of France saluted the soldiers of Italy with emotion, and wept as they embraced them. They wished them a happier destiny; they called the misfortune of their separation of all their misfortunes the worst. They offered them the hospitality of their humble homes in France: "there should they recall the recollections of their mutual friendship; of the battles they had fought side by side; of the glory they had won in following the same standard. Though the soil were not the very soil of Italy, yet all else should seem Italy to them; there should they find the same friendship—the same brotherhood; there each would strive to the utmost of his poor ability to

repay the debt which France owed to Italy." Thus, with soldierly kindness, did the French endeavour to soothe the bitter regrets of the Italians; whilst they on their side strove to console their parting friends, saying, "that they might depart assured, that though the Alps separated them, affection, and the remembrance of the glorious feats they had achieved together, should still unite them; they should derive consolation from the thought that those whose happier destiny gave them a country, would still think of those who had properly none; their own misfortune enhancing friendship, the attachment of the Italian for the French soldiers must now be intense. As yet they knew not what in this last exigency remained for them to do, for their own satisfaction and for the honour of the Italian standards; but this the French might implicitly believe—this might they feel in the innermost depth of their souls—that as they had seen them bravely bear the brunt of embattled strife, they should see them as bravely bear up against misfortune: this they hoped to show to the world, that if a country they no longer

possessed, a country they at least deserved to have. What," they cried, "is Eugene; what is Napoleon to us? Amid their glories we served them; for their beneficence we loved them; in their misfortunes we have remained faithful to them. But Italy! it was for Italy that we enrolled our names—for Italy that we fought—for Italy that we have suffered anguish. That we mourn for so dear a parent as our Italy, gives us an eternal bond of sympathy with every noble mind—with every mind that nurtures generous sentiments."

The French departed by Mount Cenis, and the Col di Tenda. The last standards of France slowly and gradually disappeared from Italy; yet not with them vanished the remembrances of so many successive years,—neither of the good which had been effected, nor of the evil which had been committed. The benefits were attributed to France—injuries to individuals. With them passed not away the assimilation of manners; the affinities that had been contracted; the intermixture of interests; nor the treasures of increased science; nor the ameliorated judicial ordinances;

nor the roads which had been rendered secure to travellers; nor those cut through insurmountable rocks; nor the magnificent buildings that had been erected; nor the sumptuous temples that had been brought to completion; nor the activity communicated to the spirit; the curiosity excited in the mind; nor the commerce which had been rendered flourishing; nor the agriculture which in many places had been conducted on an improved system; nor the military valour which had been displayed in so many wars. On the other side, neither did there pass away the awakened ambition; nor the arrogance of judgment; nor the restlessness of men's minds; nor the pressure of the taxes; nor the subtlety in levying imposts; nor the corruption of the language; nor the military spirit that had been engendered. France departed, but the traces of her footsteps were left on the soil: not twenty years, but many centuries had elapsed from the battle of Montenotte* to the convention of Schiarino-Rizzino. Their remembrance will endure as long as man shall be found on the earth.

* Buonaparte's first victory.

Having made his arrangements with Austria, the Viceroy was already about to retire into the states of the King of Bavaria, with whom he was allied by his marriage with the Princess Amelia; but at this juncture intelligence was received, true or false, that the Emperor Alexander was willing to make him King, provided that the people sincerely desired it. Eugene hailed the joyful hopes; he commenced his intrigues by tampering with the troops which garrisoned Mantua: the endeavour partly succeeded, partly failed. The important point, however, was to gain Milan, the capital.

At this crisis, the kingdom was divided into three factions: some desired the return of Austria with little or no change in the ancient forms; others inclined towards independence, but some in one mode, some in another; for some desired independence with Eugene as King, and some independence under a prince of some other race, even should it be of the house of Austria: this party was the most powerful. The Viceroy had sent Count Mejean, and in this he certainly showed little prudence, to Milan,

to treat with the heads of the government, and induce them to declare in his favour; zealously, also, to the same effect laboured Darnay, the director of the ports, a person little liked by the people. To increase the unpopularity of this step, either at the suggestion of Mejean, or from their own inclinations, the Transpadones or Estenses, as they called the people of Bologna, Ravenna, Modena, and Reggio, intermeddled in the affair; and they were much disliked by the Milanese, who accused them of having arrogated to themselves a greater share than was becoming in the management of their affairs. Melzi favoured the design, and proposed it in the senate, when an animated debate took place, principally as to the election of Eugene. Paradisi, Oriani, and other Transpadones, of established reputation, of great knowledge, and great authority, urged the cause of the Prince with the most powerful arguments. "In political changes," they said, "it was easier to effect a medium than an extreme. Men were accustomed to the government of Eugene, already acknowledged by the princes of Europe; they

only desired that he should be independent of France, and this was precisely the object of the present deliberation; although, as to this, there was little cause for uneasiness. Napoleon extinct, the independence of the country sprung up of itself; and he who could believe that Eugene would in future depend on Bourbon France, as he had done on Napoleon France, more especially, if between Lombardy and France the kingdom of Piedmont was re-established, as was already proposed, under the princes of Savoy, deserved to be considered a mere simpleton, not a politician. Thus independence, they continued, is not only secure under Eugene, but the necessary consequence of his reign; these considerations nature herself dictates, and the intelligence from Paris confirms. If another prince be demanded, what security is there of obtaining the petition? In a deliberation of such moment, the senators would be wise to trust rather in him whom they already knew, had already proved, than in one of whom they were wholly ignorant. After such tremendous convulsions, their political existence in Europe still

so recent, how could they hope that to a kingdom so full of faction, so important from its situation, a prince whose disposition was unknown would be conceded. The name of an Austrian prince was whispered about, continued the advocates of Eugene, but they should weigh well, especially those who talked of liberty and national independence, the consequence of such a choice. Under an Austrian prince, did they then expect to live free and independent—under an Austrian prince, connected by blood, with the ancient sovereign of the kingdom, nurtured in maxims of absolute authority, necessarily in awe of Vienna, sovereign of Milan in name alone? Who are the soldiers who now threaten us?—Austrians. Who would bring such a prince to Milan?—Austrians. Who would flock to our frontiers to keep us in subjection?—Austrians. They know these territories, they know them, and they covet them. If cause were wanting, pretexts would be found, and at any moment an inundation of Germans would devastate the kingdom. The cause and the pretext would be, a failure in exact and humble obedience to

Vienna. What independence could exist with perpetual fear, it was not easy to discover. To whom would these partisans of Austria have recourse? from whom demand aid? perhaps to avaricious England, who makes a traffic of all? to the absolute princes of Europe, who fear a constitution more than an army?—to enfeebled France, who would not move but with Napoleon, and who now no longer could act with him? An Austrian prince would be supported by all the friends of the ancient domination of Austria, by the lovers of despotic government, and by all the discontented: any sagacious man might decide whether recent interests, whether dawning liberty, whether the opinions which were of the growth of the last twenty years, could survive in such a deluge of contrary elements. Who would be naturally, and almost from an internal necessity, the enemy of the freedom of the kingdom?—certainly, and truly, Austria. In what manner could liberty be defended from the attacks of foreigners?—undoubtedly by soldiers in arms. Now, who could affirm that an Austrian prince would force Italian soldiers to oppose the

cupidity of Austria? It appeared, also, certain that the reign of an Austrian would not be independence, but dependence; not liberty, but servitude; not quiet, but discord and turmoil. Vienna, not Milan, would rule. With Eugene as King, every difficulty was smoothed; with a foreign prince not an Austrian, every difficulty would increase; an Austrian prince would give protection, but ensure slavery. Let the virtues then of Eugene, they concluded, be duly estimated; his love for Italy, his attachments to her customs: let not the happy auguries recently arrived from Paris be disregarded. It would be madness, in darkness so thick, to refuse to follow the only light that fortune held forth. If any one desired to wander in an endless labyrinth without a clue, without a compass in the pathless ocean, without light in an abyss, let him do so; but such were not the desires or the intentions of the Transpadones, who believed that opportunity was never neglected with impunity."

These sentiments were vehemently opposed by Guicciardi and Castiglione, especially by the latter, who acted with great impetuosity on

this occasion, and made bitter complaints of the Transpadones. They were joined by many other Milanese of reputation, of wealth, and of illustrious birth. "They could not comprehend," they said, "how, with Eugene, they could either possess liberty or independence: he would be more the vassal of Austria, more subservient to her, than even a prince of that house; for he was neither related to, nor connected with, any European potentate of the first rank: for his own preservation he would be obliged to seek protectors: where could he find them? Austria alone could afford aid; in her alone could he hope, from her vicinity and her power; and her alone could he fear. His partisans believed, perhaps, that he would not thus succumb, from the loftiness of his sentiments; but, besides that princes never think that they derogate from their dignity by any mode of subjugating their people, provided they effect that subjugation, what tokens had Eugene given of an exalted mind?—perhaps his having resigned the half of the kingdom to Bellegarde? perhaps his secret interviews with that general, of which more was

known than was talked of? perhaps his spoliation of the regal palace at Milan? perhaps the bribes promised for those same pernicious and fatal intrigues? perhaps his agents Mejean and Darnay, sent to seduce the minds of the people: the same Mejean and Darnay, who were not only strenuous supporters of tyranny, but also the assiduous calumniators of all that the kingdom boasted of as most exalted, most noble, most generous? Perhaps Eugene's elevated nature was proved by the contempt he expressed for those soldiers of whom he was, at his own seeking, the stipendiary commander? The Italians were made the jest of a youth, who scarcely had attained to manhood, and who had no name, except that perhaps which he derived from him whose name was to the last degree odious. Let the purchased and welcomed spies, let the exile of the most generous citizens, let the tyrannical restraints on the freedom of speech and writing, attest the magnanimity of Eugene! There could be no doubt, that, besides that he did not by nature abhor to act a subservient part, so he would also from necessity be constrained to it; and certainly,

the spirit of Eugene's government would be more thoroughly Austrian than that of a prince of Austria. The edicts would be framed at Vienna; not in the regal palace of Milan. Manifest signs of this were given in the humble courtesy displayed to Bellegarde; in the surrendered fortresses; in the messengers sent to the camp of the Emperor Francis, and those dispatched to the scene of the Parisian treaties:—it was demonstrated by the speeches that were now made from the senatorial benches. If then an Austrian prince were demanded, which would be an extreme resolution that necessity alone could produce, had not Tuscany long been happy and independent under an Austrian prince? The Austrian princes are certainly unwilling to swear to conditions of liberty, but they faithfully observe what they do swear to. The Napoleonists, on the contrary, betray by taking oaths; betray by violating them, observing their promises only when their own interest demands it. Hear, hear, they vociferated; they speak of Prina, as a delegate; they speak of Paradisi; Prina certainly is so ardent a lover of liberty, and

so also is Paradisi, that they would throw themselves into every danger rather than hear of the Austrians. They well know the reason why—these are the messengers of independence, these the defenders of liberty. Finally, nations, not factions, change the condition of states in important and unprecedented situations. Who will affirm that the Italians desire Eugene as King? perhaps the soldiers, who hate him,—perhaps the citizens, who do not love him? To elect him would be esteemed the machination of a few, not the desire of all; nor are the allied sovereigns so ignorant of prevalent opinions as not to be aware of these things.

"All the Milanese nobility reject Eugene, and demand freedom, and the people equally, who shout around these walls, and utter menaces at a mere murmur of his name, at the bare mention of the continuation, if not of the domination, at least of the customs of France. The hands of the allied sovereigns are nobly armed; generous motives excite them; generous actions are meditated by them:—the present moment is unparalleled in the history of ages. Propose

to them, not the desires of a few individuals, but the desires of the people; propose to them a noble purpose, not the demand of a paltry prince, the docile pupil of a tyrant; ask them for an enlarged and liberal political existence, not an existence afflicted by spies and dungeons, and your wishes will be fulfilled. These are the wishes of the Italians, these the wishes of the allies; such the will of Heaven, which has not raised the world in arms, that Napoleon Buonaparte should continue to reign in Milan, under the name of Eugene Beauharnois. No, they exclaimed, increasing in fury, we will not have Eugene, neither will we have Prina, nor Mejean, nor Darnay. We desire a prince connected by blood with some powerful European stock, who will have no need to maintain himself by flattery and concession. We wish for a prince who will swear to free ordinances, and who will not destroy liberty, but preserve it; we wish for a prince who knows and feels how noble this Italian kingdom is, how generous its inhabitants, how exalted the destiny prepared by favouring Heaven for them and for him. It

enough and too much we have had of France! too long have we suffered from the caprices of the Napoleon system. Now, when such high expectations are abroad, when the world is so powerfully excited, is the Italian mind directed elsewhere. The sufferings of the past ought to make way for future enjoyments, not for fresh inflictions."

In the end, the senate decreed that three commissioners should be sent to the confederates, requesting them to command the cessation of offensive operations. They were to demand for the kingdom of Italy the promised independence, guaranteed by treaties; they were to express the admiration the senate felt for the virtues of Eugene, and how much gratitude they entertained for his good government. This resolution was generally known, and the party who held the name of Eugene in detestation entered into a cabal to prevent it. The heads of the army and of the most eminent houses in Milan joined in it. The most remarkable of these was Alberto Litta, who, though caressed by Buonaparte, had never accepted of any office,

preferring an honourable life of privacy to a dishonourable life of public splendour. They were joined by the richest of the merchants, and by the least fearful amongst men of letters and science. The name of independence was in every mouth, the love of liberty in every heart: nor ever has any nation in the most critical emergency of their affairs shown so much order, so much unanimity, as the Italians did at this crisis. An assembly of the electoral colleges was demanded. On the 20th of April, the senate being assembled in the palace where its sittings were usually held, a dense and tumultuous mass of people crowded round its walls. The sky was dark and cloudy, a small rain fell, a sinister gloom oppressed the minds of the tranquil, without calming the spirits of the turbulent. In this crowd was congregated every rank of men—plebeians, populace, nobles, artificers; those who had competence, and those who were wealthy. Amongst the assembled multitude were principally noticed Frederigo Gonfalonieri, the two brothers Cicogna, Jacopo Ciani, Frederigo Fagnani, Benigno Bossi, the Counts Silva, Serbel-

loni, Durini, and Castiglioni. Even women—women of the highest rank, united their voices to the tumult, and joined the general cry of "*Our country! Independence! No Eugene! no Viceroy! no French!*" Amongst them was a lady of the family of the De' Capitani, and a Marchioness Opizzomi, with many other ladies of note. These were all people of worth, incapable of evil thoughts or actions; but, as is usual in all such popular ferments, the ill-disposed and the dissolute poured in both from the whole extent of country and the capital, caring for any thing rather than independence. A writing was distributed to the crowd, having these words:—"Spain and Germany have shaken off the yoke of France; let Italy imitate their example." Heading the mob, Gonfalonieri vociferated, "We will have the electoral colleges—we will have no Eugene." Those of the senators who were partisans of the Prince fled; the senate broke up; the enfuriated populace rushed into the hall of assembly, Gonfalonieri the foremost, and with mad rage broke and destroyed every thing there. Some malefactors who had

mingled with the crowd shouted "*Melzi! Melzi!*" and already had they set out to murder him. One of his friends shouted "*Prina!*" Prina was yet more hated than Melzi; and lo! they rushed to seek Prina, and after having cruelly scourged him, put him to death: nor did this satiate their rage; but they heaped insults on his bleeding and breathless body. They sought for Mejean and Darnay, but they were not to be found. The fanatic crowd having imbrued their hands in blood, next aimed at the destruction of property. Already were they employed in marking the houses for spoil, in bursting open the doors, in carrying away the furniture; Milan, the rich, was on the point of being sacked. In this emergency the proprietors and traders called out the national guard and preserved the city.

The Viceroy, who was all this time at Mantua, on hearing of this tumult at Milan, was moved by indignation to deliver up the fortress to the Austrians; an act truly censurable, for which posterity will for ever condemn Eugene. For the just and the magnanimous do not act from pique; nor did Mantua belong to Eugene,

but to the Italians. Thus meanly did the Napoleonists lower their ensigns. Napoleon stipulated at Fontainebleau every thing for himself, nothing for his people; Eugene not only stipulated nothing for the nation he had governed, but did them all the mischief he could at his departure. He left Mantua for Bavaria, carrying with him the riches of Italy. In the Tyrol he narrowly escaped being put to death, to avenge the memory of Hofer—a fresh instance of the enmity of fortune, which now called the Napoleonists to destruction.

The electoral colleges were assembled, and created a regency. They passed a decree to demand from the allied powers the independence of the kingdom; a free constitution, and an independent prince of the House of Austria. The declarations of the confederates, as to the independence of nations, raised their hopes. Fé, of Brescia; Gonfalonieri, Ciani, Litta, Ballabio, Somaglia, of Milan; Sommi, of Crema; Beccaria, of Pavia; were sent to Paris as delegates to the Emperor of Austria. Francis replied to their demands by saying, that "he also

was Italian; that his soldiers had conquered Lombardy; that the delegates should learn at Milan whatever commands he had to give." The Austrians entered Milan on the 28th of April. Bellegarde took possession of the city in the name of Austria on the 23d of May. Thus ended the kingdom of Italy.

Genoa was still occupied by the English. The Genoese lived in perfect security as to the preservation of their ancient republic. They were strengthened in their hopes by the renewed promises of the allies, and by the professions of Bentinck. But, behold! the congress of Vienna decreed that Genoa should be delivered over to the King of Sardinia.

At this intelligence, the provisional government thus addressed the Genoese people:—"Being informed that the congress of Vienna has disposed of our country, uniting it to the states of his majesty the King of Sardinia; and resolved, on the one hand, not to compromise our imprescriptible rights; on the other, not to resort to an impotent and fatal resistance; we resign an authority with which the confidence of the nation and

the acquiescence of the principal powers had invested us.

"Whatever could be done for the preservation of the rights of its people by a government armed only with justice and reason, our conscience bears witness, and the most distant courts can testify, was attempted by us without reserve and without hesitation. Nothing, therefore, now remains for us, except to recommend to the municipal and the judicial authorities the exercise of their internal functions;—to the succeeding government the care of the soldiers that we have begun to form, and of the civil officers, who have faithfully discharged their duty; and to all the Genoese people, that order and tranquillity which are essential to the prosperity of nations. Returning from public to private life, we bear with us a soothing sentiment of gratitude towards the illustrious general who has kept within the just limits of victory, and an entire confidence in Divine Providence, who never will abandon the Genoese."

These were the last protestations, the last complaints, the last accents of innocent Genoa.

The following day, which was the 27th of December, Sir John Dalrymple, the commandant of George the Third, assumed the government: he afterwards resigned it to the delegates of Victor Emanuel, King of Sardinia.

Thus, after a various and sanguinary catastrophe of twenty years, than which ten earthquakes and countless volcanic irruptions would have been less injurious, Italy returned almost to her original condition. Victor Emanuel was reinstated in Piedmont; Francis at Milan; Ferdinand in Tuscany; Pius at Rome. Parma passed from the Bourbon to the Austrian race; Joachim continued to reign at Naples, though but for a brief period. The Italian republics were extinguished. The acumen of the age had discovered that legitimacy resides in the unity of the sovereign power, and had pronounced that attribute so absolutely singular as to admit of no plural number. The humble San Marino was alone preserved, perhaps only to ape by one other trait the actions of Napoleon. Its insignificance and poverty excited the cupidity of none. Venice yielded to Francis; Genoa to

Victor. Nor were the governments of Francis, of Victor, of Ferdinand, or of Pius harsh in their spirit. They erred only in not duly estimating the great changes which had been made in the minds and hearts of men by a lengthened succession of extraordinary events. For if these changes even were, as some say, maladies, they the more required judicious remedies. Posterity will judge, whether the disorders which ensued are to be attributed to the diseased or to those who should have healed them. Joseph and Leopold, princes of happy and hallowed memories, endeavoured to benefit the human race by reforms—not to intimidate it by soldiers. Nor, in here addressing the Prince of Italy, do we advert to institutions after the English, or the French, or the Spanish mode, which would in no manner be suitable to the Italians; but on the contrary, desire reforms from which should spring greater tranquillity and happiness to the people of this peninsula, and (as we have already intimated in the preceding chapter) peculiar institutions adapted to the nature of Italians, at once easy to be understood, and easy

of execution. Moreover, aristocracy exists in Europe, and is indestructible. It is necessary, therefore, to calculate on its power in a social order inclining to freedom, as on a necessary element, and to give it, as an essential part of the state, that share of political influence which is due to it; that thus it may rest content, nor attempt to usurp the privileges of the other powers of the social machine. This done, it is necessary on the other side to prohibit its influencing or exercising any of the functions of that popular power which shall be instituted, as far as concerns Italy, in the ancient, not in the modern mode, which cannot tend to good. The division between the nobility and the people is in the nature of things, and ought to be, also, a law of the state. This is indispensable, as well for the liberty, as for the tranquillity of the state; for nothing is more injurious to both than a nobility in the air; and a body of commons composed of counts and marquises. These principles are true, and possible to be reduced to action, whether in a monarchy or in a republic. The chimera of political equality has

done more injury in Europe to the cause of liberty than all her enemies together. Equality must be in the civil, not in the political laws. Abstract and absolute principles are propounded of the social order, solely to establish fundamentals, and are not intended to be put in practice without modification; for the passions are the source of actions in men, and generate disorderly movements, which it is necessary to correct. These abstract principles in political economy are equivalent to the principles of mathematics in mechanics. The passions are in the former what the attrition of the machine and the other accidents of matter are in the latter; and thus, like those who allow for attrition in the construction of machines, ought we to calculate the impetus of the passions in the social order. The effect desired is liberty; that is, the exact and punctual execution of civil law equally towards all, and an equal protection extended by the social power to every one, as well for persons as property. If this end be obtained, there is no need to scrutinize the means, for means of various kinds, according to the diver-

sities of national character, may conduct to this same result. Whosoever could justly solve the following problem, "what degree and what part of political equality should we resume, most effectually to secure civil liberty and equality?" would render an important service to humanity. But of this let those more amply treat who are more capable of such discussions than we are.

Meanwhile, having terminated this painful task, which rather by the desire of others than of our own inclination we first undertook, we here lay down the pen, to repose a mind now too much agitated and wearied.

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THE END.

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